DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 401 718 FL 024 088

AUTHOR	McGillivray, W. Russ, Ed.
TITLE	More French, s'il vous plait!
INSTITUTION	Canadian Parents for French, Ottawa (Ontario).
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-9691721-5-X
PUB DATE	85
NOTE	136p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Canadian Parents for French, 309 Cooper Street, Suite 210, Ottawa, Ontario K2P 0G5, Canada.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - General (020)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Administrator Attitudes; *Bilingualism; Dramatics; Elementary Secondary Education; Extracurricular Activities; Foreign Countries; *French; *Immersion Programs; *Language Role; Language Teachers; Parent Associations; Parent Attitudes; Postsecondary Education; Principals; Secondary School Students; Second Language Instruction; Second Language Programs; *Second Languages; Student Attitudes; Student Characteristics
IDENTIFIERS	*Canada; New Brunswick; Wisconsin (Milwaukee)

ABSTRACT

The collection of essays on French second language instruction in Canada, directed to parents, includes: "Our Brave New World" (Andrew Kniewasser); "French in Your School: Identifying and Achieving the Right Program" (Carolyn Hodych, Jos Scott); "So, You're Worried About Becoming an Immersion Parent" (Judy Gibson); "Is Core French a Valid Option?" (J. Clarence LeBlanc); "Co-Existence or Assimilation: It's Up to All of Us" (Paule Desgroseilliers-Macdonald); "A Progress Report from the Principal" (Spencer Stanutz); "The Case for Dramatization" (Alexander Fancy); "Research Update: The New Brunswick Study" (Sharon Lapkin, Merrill Swain); "Joie de vivre: A Dialogue on Co-Curricular Activities" (Raymond Lemoine, Janine Tougas); "Teaching the Gifted in Immersion" (Joan Sigler, Margaret Tourond); "French Immersion Students in Secondary and Post-Secondary Schools" (Frances Morrison); "Lettre a une amie anglophone d'immersion francaise" (with English translation) (Andre Obadia); "Senior Students and French--How Do They Rate Themselves?" (W. Russ MacGillivray); "The Role of the Bilingual Universities" (Philippe Garigue); "Milwaukee Follows the Canadian Example: U.S. Immersion Programs" (Helena Anderson Curtain, Nancy C. Rhodes); "The Education of Immersion Teachers: Challenge of the Eighties" (Claudette Tardif); and "The CPF [Canadian Parents for French] Saga" (Stewart Goodings). (MSE)

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More French, s'il vous plaît!

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More French, s'il vous plaît!

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Canadian Parents for French

Ottawa

More French, s'il vous plaît!

Editor: W. Russ McGillivray
Illustrations: Mariette Cyr
Cover and Design: McCarney & Mann

Canadian Parents for French,
309 Cooper Street, Suite 210,
Ottawa, Ontario, K2P 0G5

© 1985 by Canadian Parents for French
Printed in Canada by Mutual Press Ltd., Ottawa
ISBN 0-9691721-5-X

Other books from Canadian Parents for French:

So You Want Your Child to Learn French!
B. Mlacak and E. Isabelle eds., 1979

French Immersion: The Trial Balloon that Flew
S. Lapkin, M. Swain, and V. Argue
(in collaboration with OISE Press, Toronto, 1983)

Canadian Parents for French gratefully acknowledges the financial assistance of the following in the publication of this book:

R. Howard Webster Foundation
Dascon Investments Ltd.
Secretary of State, Canada
Coca Cola Limited

Joan Ace, North Vancouver, BC
Dennis Anholt, Victoria, BC
Lynda Baechler, Campbell River, BC
Ivan Bohle, Terrace, BC
Ms. Joyce Booth, Saskatoon, Sask
Maud Casimir, Niagara Falls, Ont
Mrs. D.A. Clark, Oakville, Ont
Mr. B.W.B. Clayards, Port Alberni, BC
Elizabeth Cook, Hawkes Bay, Nfld
John Crisp, Agincourt, Ont
Jette Da Silva, Battleford, Sask
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Frances & Brian Dodsworth, Port Alberni, BC
Ms. Beverley Flint, Willowdale, Ont
Helen Frost, Winnipeg, Man
Mrs. Sylvia Ghaed, Penticton, BC
Stewart Goodings, Victoria, BC
Bill Greaves, Toronto, Ont
Mr. & Mrs. John Helliwell, Vancouver, BC
Ellen Hoffmann, King City, Ont
M. & Mme. R. Holland, Nagoya, Japan
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Denis & Claudette Tardif, Edmonton, Alta
Dr. D.M. Ward, Owen Sound, Ont
Martin Ware, Pasadena, Nfld
P.C. Wallis, Calgary, Alta
Allen R. Wells, Sarnia, Ont

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Foreword

I am delighted to offer my best wishes to Canadian Parents for French on the occasion of the publication of *More French, s'il vous plait!* Canadian Parents for French is to be congratulated for the fine work it has done in disseminating information about second-language teaching and learning. This book is only the latest in a long line of significant achievements in CPF's relatively short history since its founding in 1977.

It is now six years since publication of the 1979 handbook, *So You Want Your Child to Learn French!* During that time, both CPF and language education in Canada have grown significantly. French immersion enrolments across the country have more than tripled, from under 50,000 in 1979 to 150,000 in 1985. Other types of instructional programs in French as a second language have spread, becoming more widely available in the elementary grades, as well as increasingly in the spotlight in the post-secondary sector. CPF deserves a good deal of credit for this growth, to which it has contributed through its persistent lobbying of educational authorities and governments, its support to parents across Canada, and its informative newsletters, pamphlets, and books.

This volume, I have no doubt, will have a role to play in bringing about even greater effectiveness in language teaching programs. It is a striking fact that parents have played a leading part in developments to date. It is parents who have realized the great benefits that increased opportunities to become bilingual can provide for their children's and the country's future. It is parents who first argued for French immersion classes, whose effective lobbying and organizing have spurred the growth of all kinds of second-language programs, and whose enthusiasm will continue to meet new challenges in the future. It will of course be for their children to provide living proof of the success of their efforts in the Canada they are helping to shape.

The articles in this book outline the state of the art in French as a second language today. Much remains to be undertaken, and I am sure this book will inspire still more Canadians to say "More French, s'il vous plait." Félicitations, CPF.

D'Iberville Fortier
Commissioner of Official Languages

Introduction

This second parents' handbook to be published by Canadian Parents for French is a logical successor to *So You Want Your Child to Learn French!* which was published in 1979. The emphasis in the first book was on information for parents working to convince their school boards to begin new or better French second language programs because the parents wanted their children to have this advantage. While some parents are still in this frustrating situation, many have succeeded in persuading their boards to begin Immersion or Extended Programs or to improve the Core Program. The incredible growth of Immersion in the past fifteen years and the great increase in Elementary Core Programs (47 percent in 1984-85 as compared with 31.6 percent in 1970-71) in Canada attest to the persuasive powers of organized and interested parents.

The title of this new book indicates the emphasis in many, although not all, of the articles in it. Parents who succeeded in enrolling their children in immersion or core programs now realize that this was only a beginning. Those whose children are finishing elementary programs wish them to continue at the secondary level, and those whose children are graduating from secondary programs want more at the post-secondary level. Those with children in core French want them to start earlier and to spend more time per day learning French. All parents realize the importance of challenging activities in the classroom and of interesting ways of exposing children to more French outside the classroom.

Parents also realize the need for more French teachers and for better trained French teachers and they are anxious about the ability of these teachers and of the various programs to achieve the hoped-for bilingual capability in their children. As Canadians they should be interested and proud that the immersion approach, uniquely Canadian, has been adopted by a number of American school boards. As Canadians too, they should be concerned about the impact of immersion programs on Francophones outside Québec and about the job possibilities for bilinguals in Canada in future.

It is hoped that the articles in this book will be of interest to everyone concerned with the teaching and learning of French but, in particular, of interest and reassurance to parents with children in schools who are now saying to their school boards, "We want MORE FRENCH, s'il vous plait!"

I would like to thank all of the authors who so willingly shared their experience and expertise and especially I would like to thank the members of the CPF editorial committee and the staff of the national office for their help.

The opinions expressed by contributors to this book are their own, and do not necessarily reflect the views of Canadian Parents for French.

The Editor

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Our Brave New World

Andrew Kniewasser

Canada is at the threshold of unprecedented opportunities for progress and growth. The foreseeable future, however, is very different from our past and more demanding for young people. Language skills will be critical to our success.

Canada is now the most internationally dependent industrialized country in the world. Our reliance on export trade was 22 percent of our Gross National Product in the 1960s and 26 percent in the 1970s. This reliance on exports will be in the order of 30 percent throughout the 80s and will rise to more than 33 percent in the 1990s. One out of every three Canadians will depend directly on export trade for employment (Table 1).

The Japanese have been extremely successful in international trade, yet their export reliance is only 13 percent. We are more than twice as dependent on exports as the Japanese! The United States, which is by far the world's largest trader, has an export reliance of only 7 percent. Canadians are more than four times as dependent on exports as the Americans (Table 1)!

Our future, therefore, will depend more and more on our success in producing and selling our goods and services at internationally competitive prices in Canadian and foreign markets. And it is very important to keep in mind that the "people" content in our exports is the fastest growing and most promising component. I refer, of course, to trade-in-services, consulting, engineering, finance, and so forth.

The principal reason for Canada's high rate of unemployment today is that we have a lower share of Canadian and world markets. Our share of world trade was 5.9 percent in 1970 and it has fallen to 4.7 percent in 1983 (Table 2). Our share of world trade in manufactured goods was 6 percent in 1970 and it was 5.1 percent in 1983 (Table 3). Our share of world trade in manufactured goods, excluding exports to the United States, was 1.8 percent in 1970 and it has dropped to a pitiful 1.2 percent (Table 3)!

Our future depends on improving these market shares. We are well placed to do so. The key is to strengthen our international competitiveness by increasing our productivity (Table 4). This is a reasonable and foreseeable possibility for Canadians, blessed as we are with extraordinary natural resources, available capital, and ready access to world markets.

Not only is Canada now the world's most dependent country on international trade, we are quickly becoming the world's most capital intensive country. Productivity improvements arise essentially from the application of capital to the total spectrum of economic processes, ranging all the way from investments in new plants and equipment to research and development, technology, and very large outlays to improve the effectiveness of our human resources in management, production and marketing systems.

The latest information available indicates that we can reasonably expect some $3.5 trillion of new investment in Canada in the 1980s and 90s in current dollar terms. Expressed in 1971 dollars, the figure is well over $750 billion, almost twice the rate of investment expenditures over the past two decades (Table 1).

We must, therefore, prepare our young people to live in, and succeed in, a business world of many languages, many cultures, and unprecedented mobility. Canadians are lagging behind the most successful international trading nations in our ability to do business in foreign languages, to understand the thought processes and traditions of foreign cultures, and to move ourselves and our families willingly from place to place in Canada or, indeed, around the world as opportunities arise.

I think it is fair to say that we have probably had it too easy for too long. We have become accustomed to doing business on our terms, usually in the English language, and by our rules. It is one of the reasons I take every opportunity to

encourage young Canadians to become comfortable in, and to enjoy, our two official languages. Indeed, more of our young people must go further and build on this remarkable natural resource of English and French, to become proficient in other languages as well.

There is no good reason why we cannot turn around our lassitude in respect to language and culture. We should be accustomed in Canada to living with, and adjusting to, people from all over the world. I have never thought that there was a language "problem" in Canada. There has instead been a problem of missed opportunity. We are blessed with ready access to two of the world's most beautiful and useful languages which are also splendid avenues to the development of skills in families of related languages of great value and use.

I tell young Canadians that they are going to have to learn to perform in the world's principal languages. They are going to have to learn to live with people from all over the world in a spirit of understanding and affection as a matter of survival. This is our destiny as the world's most internationally dependent and capital intensive country.

As I regard this prospect and meet young Canadians in all parts of Canada, I am increasingly optimistic and encouraged about our possibilities of surviving and flourishing in this kind of future. Our young people are better educated and more internationally minded than at any other time in our history. They must, in my view, receive great encouragement to develop in this way. And by encouragement I mean practical training and job opportunities in Canada and around the world whenever possible and reasonable. New investments in improving the quality and adaptability of Canadians are among the best investments we can possibly make.

We have come a long way in these matters over the past few decades. On balance and in perspective, I believe that we have already made more progress in respect to

Table 1

New Investment — Canada

($ current billions)

	1961-70	1971-80	1981-90	1991-2000
Machinery & equipment	43	137	354	865
Non-residential construction	39	121	321	808
Increase in inventories	7	12	12	44
Productive investment	89	270	687	1,717
Residential construction	27	104	223	510
Total business investment	116	374	910	2,227
Government	25	61	135	260
Total new capital investment	141	435	1,045	2,487
Total new capital investment (1971 = 100)	156	261	322	432.1
Productive investment as a percentage of total investment	63%	62%	65.8%	69.1%
Export reliance (Exports as a percentage of GNP)	21.7%	26.1%	32.0%	36.5%

Source: Chase Econometrics.

official bilingualism and enlightened multi-culturalism than any other country in the world. We must continue and broaden the momentum. It is a matter of necessity for Canadians. It is a matter for serious reflection by parents!

Table 2

Share of Free-World Exports

Percent

Period	Canada	United States	West Germany	U.K.	Japan	France
1970	5.9	15.4	12.1	7.0	6.9	6.4
1980	3.7	12.1	10.5	6.0	7.1	6.3
1981	4.0	13.0	9.8	5.8	8.4	5.9
1982	4.2	12.9	10.7	5.9	8.4	5.9
1983	4.7	12.4	10.5	5.7	9.1	5.9

Source: United States Department of Commerce.

Table 3

Share of World Exports of Manufactured Goods[1]

Period	Canada		United States	West Germany	U.K.	Japan	France
1970	6.0	1.8*	18.4	19.0	10.1	11.2	8.3
1980	3.9	1.2*	16.4	19.0	9.8	14.2	9.6
1981	4.4	1.2*	18.1	17.7	8.3	17.2	8.8
1982	4.7	1.2*	17.3	18.9	8.1	16.6	8.7
1983**	5.1	1.0*	16.6	18.5	7.7	17.5	8.5

* Excluding exports to the United States.

** Three-quarter average.

(1) "World" exports of manufactured goods are defined as the sum of the exports from fifteen major industrial countries.

Source: United States Department of Commerce.

Table 4

Productivity — International Comparisons

(Percentage Change)

	1973-78	1978-83	1983	1984(F)	1985(F)
Canada	0.6	0.6	2.3	1.5	0.8
U.S.	0.3	0.7	2.0	2.0	0.8
U.K.	1.1	1.9	3.6	1.5	1.5
West Germany	2.9	1.7	3.1	2.8	2.3
France	2.8	1.9	1.5	2.0	2.3
Italy	0.0	1.5	−1.3	2.0	2.0
Japan	3.2	2.8	1.3	3.8	2.5

(F) Forecast.

Source: United States Department of Commerce.
OECD.

French in Your School:

Identifying and Achieving the Right Program

Carolyn Hodych and Jos Scott

Are you lucky enough to have a choice of French programs in which you might enrol your child? Take a careful look at the aims of these programs before making a decision. Your final choice will depend on the kind of French skills you want your child to acquire.

If only one type of program now exists in your community, you should know what is available in other parts of Canada. Your school board may be persuaded to start a new program or improve an existing one if informed parents know exactly what to ask for and how to ask for it. This article presents a brief overview of what now exists and outlines some basic steps to follow when asking for new or improved programs.

What is Available?

At present, two basic types of French second language programs are offered in Canadian schools: core (or regular) French and immersion. In addition, French as a first language programs are often available to Francophones living outside Québec but these are not usually available to non-Francophones.

Core French

Core French is a program in which French is taught as one of the subjects in an otherwise English-language curriculum.[1] Across Canada, the grade level at which core French is introduced and the number of hours of instruction per week vary considerably.[2] An acceptable basic program is thought to be one of 40 minutes per day for ten years of schooling, perhaps from grade 3 to grade 12. Students following such a program should achieve a basic competence in French but should not expect to become fluently bilingual without participating in summer immersion programs, bilingual exchanges or other extra-curricular activities which emphasize fluency. As a general rule, the more exposure to French the better the result. (See the article by LeBlanc in this volume.)

Interesting variations on core French are appearing. The most common, "extended" or "enriched" core French involves the teaching of another subject (e.g. history, mathematics, or science) in French in addition to the regular core of French instruction. This variation has the advantage of providing students with more exposure to French as a living and working language rather than simply a subject to be learned. Although extended core French programs are not widespread, the results from such programs are encouraging.[3]

French Immersion

French immersion is a program in which students whose mother tongue is not usually French are taught a variety of subjects in French by a teacher who is fluent in that language. Such programs may begin in kindergarten or at any grade thereafter. The aim of an immersion program, in addition to all the usual educational aims, is to enable English-speaking children to become as fluently bilingual as is possible through a school program in a predominantly English-speaking community.

The main categories of French immersion can be summarized as follows:

Total Immersion is a program in which students are taught for at least a year or two completely in French, after which English is gradually introduced for increasing proportions of the school day, in the case of early immersion, or reintroduced, in the case of late or middle immersion, until the time in French and the time in English are about equal.

Partial Immersion is the term used to describe a program in which French is used for about 50 percent of the daily instruction time from the beginning. This is also called a bilingual program.

Immersion programs may begin *early*[4] (i.e. in kindergarten or grade 1) or *late*[5] (i.e., at grade 6 or 7), or, less frequently, in the middle grades (3 to 5). Thus, immersion programs are usually identified by the amount of exposure to French and by the point of entry (i.e., early total, early partial, late total, etc.).

Continuing Immersion (also known as secondary immersion or maintenance) refers to the continuation of any immersion program at the junior high or secondary school level. The aim of this program is to ensure that a student's competence in French keeps pace with his/her increasing intellectual and general maturity.

French as a First Language

French as a first language instruction is available in most provinces to children of Francophone parentage. Provincial legislation providing for such programs also establishes the criteria for admission. In most cases, only children who speak French fluently are accepted but, sometimes, as in the "Program Cadre" in B.C., the criterion for admission is having at least one Francophone parent rather than linguistic competence.

These French mother tongue programs differ from immersion programs because they are designed for Francophone children and are conducted entirely in French with English as a second language added in the middle grades. Although the curriculum generally parallels that of the English program, or the immersion program, the cultural objectives are different and designed to enable Francophone children to live their culture outside of Québec. (See the article by Desgroseilliers-Macdonald in this volume.)

The Hazards of Classification

Remember that the above descriptions are very general. Programs vary considerably from province to province and even from school to school. French second language programs could be arranged along a continuum with *no French* at one end and *all French* at the other and somewhere along that continuum is the variation that may be right for your community. The points at which one type of program merges into another will naturally be blurred. For example, extended core French in one school or one province may look very similar to continuing immersion in another school or province. Similarly, parts of one early total immersion program may look very like parts of a French as a first language program somewhere else. These overlaps are to be expected and simply reflect the needs which are being met and the resources available in each community. The important thing is to identify the program which you believe will accomplish what you want for your child, and then attempt to implement such a program in your community.

Organizing for Success

Have you considered the French programs described above and decided that you're not satisfied with the one offered at your child's school? Take heart, many Canadian parents who felt the same way have succeeded in improving existing programs or in having new ones implemented. In most instances, school boards are receptive to parents' concerns and will work with parents toward a common goal. Indeed, it is sometimes the school board trustees who initiate new French programs and then go about convincing parents to enrol their children! However, there are still many reluctant boards that need to be convinced of the importance of good French programs.

Although the details will vary in each situation, certain basic steps seem necessary in dealing with such boards. Because you know your community best, you should use as many or as few of the following suggestions as seem appropriate:

1. Decide on Your Goal — Before taking action, think carefully about what you want and why you want it. If you want your children to be as fluently bilingual as possible, you want an immersion program. If you want them to have a basic working knowledge of French so that they can go on to develop fluency at a later date, you want a core program or perhaps an extended core program. Your motivation in wanting this program for your child can be crucial. Remember, you are asking for long-term changes in the school program and your motivation must be strong enough to inspire the initiative at the beginning and to sustain the momentum over the long haul. (See the article by Gibson in this volume.)

2. Do Your Homework — Once your goal is clearly established, you should begin to look for wider support. However, it will be easier to plead your case successfully with other parents, if you are prepared to answer some of the most common questions about the various programs. If, for example, you have decided to work towards an immersion program, you should do the necessary homework to be able to answer the following questions:

Will my child's English skills suffer? (Current research is unanimous that English skills of most immersion students are at least equal to those of students in the English stream.)[7]

What does research say about the general academic achievement of immersion students? (It is at least equal to that of their English program peers; see the article by Morrison in this volume.)

Will my child learn the same things as children in the English stream? (Not exactly because the school day can't be lengthened but the same basic curriculum will be covered.)

How will I be able to help with homework if I can't understand French? (Parents find ways, perhaps resorting to asking leading questions in English rather than trying to provide answers in French; see the article by Gibson in this volume.)

If your goal is a better core or extended core program, you should understand the following: the most important factors in the learning of a second language are the time of exposure to that language and the frequency of that exposure. Therefore, a good core program should extend over many years to high school graduation preferably, and should consist of daily periods of at least 40 minutes. The course should be lively and sequential with the emphasis on communication, and the teacher must be able to speak French fluently. Unless there are qualified bilingual teachers already on staff, a special core French teacher will have to be hired. (See the article by LeBlanc in this volume.)

Parents opting for a core French program should clearly understand that their children will not be fluently bilingual at the end unless they can supplement the program with extra-curricular activities in French that enhance fluency. Many core French students do become fluent by attending immersion-style programs which are offered by many educational institutions throughout Canada.[9]

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Gather Your Forces

While you may be a very articulate and persuasive person who could convince your school board to implement change at the first asking and all by yourself, it is usually more convincing to reluctant trustees if any new programs are requested by a well-organized and well-informed group of parents. How do such parents find each other?

Parents wanting an early immersion program might locate others through preschools. Ask permission to leave information sheets near the front entrance where they will be picked up by the parents of children who will be entering kindergarten next year. Some provinces have junior kindergartens through which parents might be reached.

If late immersion is your goal, try to contact parents of children who are in the grade prior to the proposed starting grade of the program. You may find that school boards are reluctant to give out names and addresses but there are usually occasions for parents meeting and these may permit the gathering of names.

Parents working towards establishing or improving a core French program could start by contacting the parents of their children's classmates and asking them to call others that they know.

Don't overlook the potential of an advertisement in the local newspaper or a public service announcement of a meeting on radio or television. Contact your nearest CPF chapter executive members to ask if they can help and see if there is a membership list for your community.[10]

Once you have the names of a few interested parents, you can start a telephone campaign. Each person telephones a few other potentially interested parents until a group of like-minded parents have found each other and are prepared to hold a "What's Possible" meeting. Remember that your project will have more credibility if the parents involved (providing either active or passive support) represent at least enough potential students to make up a normal-sized class.

Plan for Action

You have met as a group, decided on your goal and are now planning for action. Necessary tasks can be delegated to members of the group. Someone should be responsible for finding out what provincial legislation exists for the provision of French programs. Most provinces require that all schools provide a certain basic minimum French program in specific grades.[11] Is there anything in the legislation in your province which can be used to support your cause?

Understanding the funding of French programs is an area that someone should learn about. The federal government provides funding to the provinces and the territories for all French programs.[12] Does your school board take advantage of this? Are other funds available from your provincial government for the support of French educational programs?

Is your group proposing an across-the-board reorganization of the core program or is it suggesting a pilot program in a particular school? Does that school have suitable classroom space for the program? Core French teachers can accomplish more if they have their own classrooms to which students come for French. The teachers can put up posters, arrange resource materials attractively, display students' work, and create an appealing French atmosphere. It is impossible for the teachers to achieve the same effect when moving from classroom to classroom. The location of the French classroom can also say much to the students about the importance of the French program. A centrally located, bright and cheerful room will have a more positive impact than that of the windowless one next to the furnace room!

If immersion is your goal, there are other location factors to consider. Is there enough space available in the proposed school? Is the student population in that school declining? French immersion programs are often located in schools where enrolment in the English program has been declining steadily. While an immersion program will keep the school doors open, it will almost guarantee that English stream enrolment will continue declining at an even faster rate. If the English program finally has to be phased out, expect the French immersion program to be blamed. (See the article by Stanutz in this volume.)

Having thus prepared yourselves, you will have to decide on the best way to approach the school board with your proposal. It will be useful for the group to know the school trustees and their attitudes towards French second language learning. Speaking to trustees individually about the desired changes is sometimes all that is needed to bring them about, but, more often, parents have found it necessary to prepare a brief outlining their proposal.[13]

Writing the Brief

A brief is a complete statement, not necessarily brief, of what you want, why you want it, and how, in your opinion, it can be achieved. Set your ideas out clearly. Your brief should have a title, a table of contents, an introduction setting out briefly the reasons for wanting a change in the existing program, a statement of need (exactly what do you want?), a plan of action, how many students might be involved, the duration of the program, possible sources of funding, references to other school boards with similar programs which might be able to help with programs, personnel, or information, and a concluding summary. Appendices can be added if necessary to provide more detailed information or peripheral information such as research results which might help the trustees to understand your proposal or which could help later with implementing the program. Your brief should be clearly typed and photocopied.

In some cases it may be sufficient to submit the brief to the trustees through the board officials, but in most cases you will want to make a formal presentation at a school board meeting. You will have to ask for a spot on the agenda and will be given a specific time and place for your appearance. Speaking to individual trustees in advance is a good way to prepare them for your request and you will usually be required to provide the board secretary with copies of your brief to be distributed to the trustees in advance. Reading the whole brief may not be necessary, but try to involve two or three of your group as presenters and ask as many others as possible to attend as spectators to convince the board members of the wide support for your proposal. At the conclusion of your presentation, be sure to thank the trustees for their consideration and offer to help in any way.

If you feel that there is a need to increase public awareness of this issue, you might decide to inform the media. If you do, make sure that copies of the brief, plus a news release are available to journalists. In that way, you are less likely to be misquoted.

If your first attempt is not successful, you should continue to plead your case as diplomatically as possible. Quietly lobbying politicians and other local leaders can sometimes work wonders. Some groups have sought public support by holding open meetings or appearing on radio or television talk shows. Increasing and highly visible public support has sometimes convinced reluctant boards to reassess the original decision. Remember, however, that once you "go public" with your proposal, you will have to cope with the interest (positive and negative) that public exposure sometimes brings.

To be realistic, we should add that while most parent groups do come to some kind of an agreement with the school boards when requests for improved French programs are made, some boards remain intransigent. In such cases, the parents have to settle for small improvements in an existing program and continue to work towards better programs in the future. Remember that school trustees are usually elected and an election can bring changes in the composition of the school board which may be the only way to change its collective mind.

Savoring Success

Congratulations! You've worked hard, learned a lot and made new friends. The program you wanted is now in place and your children are happily enrolled. So relax and savor the fruits of success but don't assume that you are finished. Check on the program regularly to ensure that it progresses from year to year in the manner that you had expected and that the results are as you had hoped. Is the board living up to any commitments made initially? Be aware that core French students will quickly lose any any fluency if they drop the program before the end of high school and that the facility that immersion students develop in the intensive early part of their program will deteriorate quickly if the continuing immersion program is inadequate. There will always be problems for you to help solve.

Please don't forget to thank the board publicly now and then when things are going well. School boards bear a tremendous responsibility and the excellent work that they do is usually taken for granted. Too often we talk to our trustees only when something goes wrong but they also deserve acknowledgment for all that goes right!

Notes

1. *What is Core French?* (Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1985): pamphlet.
2. Janet Poyen, ed., *Core French in Canada, vol. 1: A Survey of Programs* (Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1985).
3. Frances Morrison, "French Proficiency: Status of Ottawa and Carleton students in Alternative Programs," *Ottawa Board of Education Research Centre Sixth Annual Report, 1979*: chap. 2.
4. *What is Early French Immersion?* (Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1984): pamphlet.
5. *What is Late French Immersion?* (Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1984): pamphlet.
6. *What is Continuing French Immersion?* (Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1984): pamphlet.
7. Sharon Lapkin and Merrill Swain, "Research Update," *Language and Society*, no. 12, Winter, 1984 (Ottawa: The Commissioner of Official Languages).
8. *Report of the Ministerial Committee on the Teaching of French* (Toronto: the Ontario Ministry of Education, 1974).
9. For more information on such programs contact the French consultant at your board or the student awards officer at your provincial Ministry of Education. General information on all summer programs is contained in the CPF publication *Summer Programs in French* published annually.
10. For help in finding the nearest CPF chapter, contact your provincial director or the CPF national office in Ottawa.
11. *Ontario's FSL Programs: Teaching and Learning French as a Second Language in the 1980s* (Toronto: the Ontario Ministry of Education, 1984).
12. *Descriptive and Financial Summary of Federal-Provincial Programmes for the Official Languages in Education* (Ottawa: Education Support Programmes Branch, Secretary of State, November, 1983).
13. CPF has samples of briefs written by parents on a variety of subjects. Write to CPF national office for information.

So, You're Worried About Becoming an Immersion Parent

Judy Gibson

For the past eight years, I've been among the legions of "ordinary parents" who have attended countless meetings and spent endless hours on the telephone spreading the word: "Our children *can* learn French!" In Yellowknife, Merritt, Brandon, and Campbellton,[1] people like my husband and me have told other parents how our "immersion" children are faring. Our stories are reassuring, our children seem quite normal, and research results are encouraging. As a result, cross-Canada enrolment in French immersion is increasing by about 20 percent a year.

Now it's time for the other side of the story. Not that any of us has lied, or even exaggerated, mind you. Our enthusiasm and conviction are quite real, and well-founded. But, as with statistics, it's all in the presentation. If we are guilty, it's of sliding over some points, of not painting a perfectly balanced picture. There may be quite valid reasons for deciding *not* to enrol your child in a French immersion program.

The Child

Children who already display problems with communication before entering school could find it difficult to cope with immersion. French is used by the teacher for all normal, day-to-day activities, and it is gradually acquired by the pupils much as was their mother tongue. Those few individuals who cannot discriminate between similar sounds in their first language will have the same impediment in a second language. If "soup" and "soap" or "bun" and "pun" are confusing in English, then so will be "pour" and "tour" in French.

Likewise, a child who is unable to communicate in a manner normal for his/her age level perhaps should not yet be introduced to a second language, although this may be a very temporary problem. A kindergarten pupil with the vocabulary and syntax of a two- or three-year-old could be a poor candidate for French immersion. Consider immersion at a higher grade level if it's available.

If your child has a serious speech impairment, consult his/her therapist. Especially during the first years of the program, a great deal of time is spent on vocabulary acquisition, through all sorts of songs, games, and activities designed to have the students imitate and practise the teacher's pronunciation. While some problems might actually be helped by this emphasis on correct oral production and the "fresh start" of a new language, others might be worsened, resulting in frustration and failure.

Great Expectations

If you are considering immersion only because your child is particularly bright or advanced, you may eventually be disappointed. Certainly this new experience will be challenging at first, but s/he will learn French easily and soon need additional stimulation; enrichment opportunities are as important for some immersion students as for other "keen kids." (See the article by Tourond and Sigler in this volume.) Don't expect that in immersion s/he will necessarily be one of an élite group of young scholars. Almost all children — including those who require learning assistance in reading and maths, and hopefully receive it — can be successful in acquiring a second language through the immersion approach.[2]

Early total French immersion programs begin in kindergarten or grade one and usually do not include English language arts until grade two or three, or even grade four. The pupils are first taught to read in French, a skill which, once mastered, is quickly transferred to the mother tongue. Research from every part of the country proves conclusively that, by the end of the fourth or fifth grade, the immersion students have caught up to or surpassed their peers in the English program and they have never lagged in any other subject.[3] However, parents who insist on *formal* English lessons at home during these primary years to speed up this natural process can actually slow down their child's progress. Being taught to read in two languages at exactly the same time can be confusing; trust that reading in English will follow in due course when the child is ready. It is important that an immersion pupil be read to in his mother tongue and that any attempts that s/he makes to decode English be encouraged.

You may have heard some criticism of the quality of French spoken by immersion children. They do *not* learn "pure Parisian French" (whatever that is!) in immersion, any more than their peers learn "pure Oxford English" in the English program. My children have been taught by Francophones from Québec, Ontario, Maillardville (Coquitlam, B.C.), France and Edmonton and they seem to have adapted to all of these accents quite easily. One of the best of their French teachers had studied French as a second language at Cambridge in England. Our school district also employs French teachers from Winnipeg, New Brunswick, Africa, and the Far East. Whatever their background, each must have the fluency of a native French speaker, including correct grammar and a good vocabulary, but not necessarily similar accents. If you must give immersion French a label, consider that the children are being taught "International Standard French" or "CBC French."

Nor will your children likely be perfectly bilingual at the end of grade twelve, or "balanced bilinguals" as the linguists would say. To achieve this relatively rare state, they would require a period of "submersion" in a French milieu, and far more exposure to the language and a much greater variety of experiences than they can possibly have just in school, even in immersion.[4] However, compare their fluency and confidence in using French with those of graduates of core French programs and their abilities will be evident.

Graduates of early immersion programs can understand, speak, read and write French fluently and easily, but not perfectly, and they do as well as their English-program peers in other subjects. Depending on their individual interests and abilities, they are able to live, work, or take further education in their second language, and so they have been called "functionally bilingual." The immersion or bilingual programs of shorter duration lead to a slightly lower level of fluency, which is also difficult to define because it will vary from person to person. The accents of late immersion students are usually not as native-like as those of early immersion students.

Parental Attitudes

Other considerations have more to do with you, the parents, than with your children, the potential pupils. The most obvious and by far the most common is lack of conviction about the value of bilingualism in Canada. Parents who are not convinced, even after receiving all possible information, should probably choose the English program for their children.

In my opinion, which I cannot substantiate by empirical evidence, parental nervousness and uncertainty about immersion are among the most common causes of drop-outs or "pull-outs" from the program. Sometimes parents enrol their children in French immersion kindergarten on a trial basis, knowing that a transfer to the English program can easily be made at the end of the year if they seem to be having problems. Most parents are very pleased with their child's seemingly effortless acquisition of French by the middle of grade one, but a few remain unconvinced and nervous.

Children, on the other hand, tend to take their regular activities, including those at school, for granted. Little ones don't realize that they are learning while they sing, draw, and play and they see nothing unusual in doing so in a new language. A five-year-old finds it difficult to explain what s/he has learned in school, and constant questioning by a nervous Mom or Dad can be quite unsettling. A shy child may understand the teacher as well as his/her classmates, but be particularly reluctant to "show off" on demand the French words and phrases s/he has learned. An over-solicitous parent can create an atmosphere of uncertainty by communicating all of his/her anxieties to the child rather than to the teacher. Immersion is still a new and unfamiliar process for many adults. In extreme cases, transfer to the more familiar English program may be the only way to make the parent, and therefore the child, comfortable.[5]

In the case of late immersion, the decision to enrol is usually made by parents and student, based on factors such as previous school success, his/her own interests, and peer pressure. The first few months are difficult, as the student strives to gain the basic French structures and vocabulary, and learns to think in French. Amazingly, by the end of the first year, social studies or science can be conducted in French much as they would be in English, but very strong family support is needed especially during this initial adjustment period. Impatience, negative attitudes, or lack of understanding of the process could lead to a child's giving up too soon.[6]

In early French immersion, young children don't seem to translate. They acquire two sets of symbols and soon come to understand that, in class or with Francophones, certain sounds and symbols are appropriate and at home or with Anglophones, others are required. They begin automatically to call a writing instrument "un crayon" at school, but "a pencil" at home. "S'il vous plait" and "merci" elicit the same responses in French from the teacher as "please" and "thank you" do in English from Mommy and Daddy. They seem to known instinctively when to use the French symbols and when the English.

Please don't enrol your child in immersion expecting him/her to "turn on" the French on command, or to translate for you. (I quickly learned that "what is that about?" was more likely to receive a response than "what does that say in English?") S/he will no more likely enjoy being constantly asked to "say something in French for Grandma" than you were to "play something on the piano for Aunt Alice." Carried to extremes, such demands to perform can cause as strong a dislike of immersion as of piano lessons.[5]

Neither can you expect to compare your Johnny's progress in immersion with that of Timmy in the English program, if that's really important to you. In the first place, they sometimes won't be using the same texts, since identical French and English versions are not always available or suitable. More significantly, not only do no two children work at exactly the same rate, neither do any two teachers. During the first few years, immersion classroom activities may be more structured than those in the English program because there must be far more individual and group interaction with the teacher, the only linguistic model the child is likely to hear. This early emphasis on language acquisition and, in later grades, the time required for two language arts courses will obviously create some scheduling and content differences between the programs, although the same basic curriculum must be covered. If you must compare the number of A's and B's on report cards over morning coffee, better make sure that your coffee klatsch members all have children in the same class.

Some neighbors might accuse you of "élitism" if you select immersion for your child. My dictionary defines "élitism" as "advocating the selecting and treating of certain people as a group . . . superior in some way and therefore favored." Why *are* you considering immersion? Do you agree with the 68.2 percent of Canadians — from all walks of life — who believe that their children should learn French at school to become bilingual? Are your main reasons, like theirs, better employment opportunities, intellectual development, cultural enrichment, and travel possibilities?[7] Are these motives so unusual and this number of Canadians "élitist?"

A final caution about your attitude: how will you react when your offspring knows far more French than you? What will be your reaction to patient but firm correction from a serious six-year-old after you have displayed your hard-won high school French? Will you feel left out if you cannot do his/her homework yourself? Will it bother you not to understand a conversation between your Mary and her teacher and to have the teacher kindly explain to you what they were saying? Immersion's excellent results can be threatening to the parent who must be omniscient!

Other Drawbacks and Irritations

If French immersion is not available in your local school, transportation can be a problem.[5] Lacking a bus service, will you resent having to drive your child to school every day? The first few years are the worst, until they can walk or bike the distance, especially when you have two, one in kindergarten and the other in a higher grade, when you have to drive three times a day.

If you carpool, you may hate having other children's dirty boots and muddy pants on your car's upholstery. It's much like taking a hockey novice to 5 a.m. practices at the arena, or transporting a competitive swimmer across town to the pool every morning. You may even find yourself working with others to organize private busing services, or lobbying the school board to provide the service or to offer the program nearer your home.[8]

Unless your French is better than mine, you'll be forced to provide guidance rather than direct assistance with homework. Of course, arithmetical operations are the same in any language, and you can drill Danny on his times tables to your heart's content, but French spelling homework can pose a problem. Unable to understand her mother's pronunciation of the target words, a friend's daughter resorted to taping her own spelling lists and giving herself her own pre-tests. Because of Show-and-Tell, my oldest learned in kindergarten how indispensable a dictionary can be, as we looked up the French for "umbrella" and "birthday present" together. Unable to answer homework problems in French for my children, I resort to leading questions: "What does that mean? Which part don't you understand? What does the teacher expect you to do? What is the objective of this lesson? What are you trying to say?" Of course, it would be easier if I could just give them the answers, but this way we both have to think.

If you think you can more easily help with your child's English homework, have you ever tried to explain why *uv* is spelled *of*, while *luv* is spelled *love*, or why *ei* is pronounced differently in *weigh* and *receive*? The French language has a more con-

sistent system of sound-symbol relationships. I have spent six years as an apologist for English spellings.

You're going to want to encourage your immersion child to expand and perfect his/her French outside of school, and so you'll find yourself looking for and even helping to organize extra-curricular activities. Contact with additional linguistic models in more informal settings is important, particularly at the age when the number of subjects taught in French decreases and the students seem to take their communicative competency for granted. (After all, can't they already safely discuss Christmas present ideas in French right in front of Mom and Dad?) My husband and I have attended plays and concerts, paid for craft lessons *en français*, transported children to French summer day camp, taken out subscriptions to *Hibou* and *Le Club Canada*, acquired recordings of French Christmas carols, and even enjoyed a family vacation in Québec![9] There is a danger that this might become culturally enriching for the whole family!

Concern is often expressed about having one child in the English program and another in French immersion. Certainly, the logistics of coping with siblings in different schools (as inevitably happens when the older one moves to junior high!) can be awkward, and if you're determined to have your children participate in identical activities, then you may have a problem.

One last warning: if the immersion program is not located in your local school, your child may make more friends than s/he otherwise would. Birthday parties may have to include classmates as well as the usual neighborhood chums, cousins, and Cub, Brownie, or team friends.

Conclusion

There's obviously a lot to consider before becoming an immersion parent, such as whether your child can now communicate adequately for his/her age, and whether you will be patient and supportive, hiding your natural doubts until you can speak to the teacher. Will you be able to resist the temptation to have your child perform and translate for all your friends and relatives? And will you be frustrated by not being able to get right in there and do all Johnny's homework for him?

You'll be disappointed if you expect that your bright child will be constantly challenged by immersion or that s/he will be mistaken for an educated native of Paris. You may also be dismayed when, after trying to correct your accent and patiently teach you a few French words, your daughter gives up, realizing that you will never keep up.

Perhaps you'll be accused of élitism or snobbery, driving your child back and forth to a special school like that every day. If you're not careful, you'll even find yourself enjoying Nana Mouskouri's "Petit Papa Noël" on a snowy winter's evening! Having an immersion child is sort of like having a dedicated musician or a star athlete in the family, except that an immersion child need not be so unusual or especially bright, but your life will be just as complicated!

Are the Gibsons sorry we "plunged" into immersion? Not a bit! That trip to Québec proved that our children, now aged 11 and 14, are quite at ease in their second language, even with unfamiliar people and situations. (For instance, our daughter had to be dragged away from a two-hour visit with a group of Guides, not one of whom spoke any English!) No matter how our children later make use of their French, my husband and I will never resent the little extra effort needed to give them this opportunity.

Notes

1. *Registry of French Immersion Programs* (Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French): annual.

2. Margaret Bruck, "Problems in Early Immersion Programs," *So You Want Your Child to Learn French!* (Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1979), pp. 42-47.

3. James Cummins, *Research Findings from Across Canada: A Parents' Guide* (Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1983).

   Sharon Lapkin and Merrill Swain, "Research Update," *Language and Society*, no 12, Winter, 1984 (Ottawa: The Commissioner of Official Languages), pp. 48-53.

4. Birgit Harley, "How Good is Their French?" *Language and Society*, pp. 55-60.

   W. Russ McGillivray, *Are Parents' Expectations of French Immersion Realistic?* (Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1984).

5. *How to be an Immersion Parent* (Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French): pamphlet.

6. *What is Late Immersion?* (Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1984): pamphlet.

7. Gallup National Omnibus conducted for Canadians for French, 1984.

8. Judy Gibson and Janet Poyen, "French for Your Children: How to Get What You Want," *So You Want Your Child to Learn French!* (Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1979), pp. 95-101.

9. Elaine Isabelle, "Franco Fun," *So You Want Your Child to Learn French!*, pp. 115-119.

   S. Lapkin, M. Swain, and V. Argue, *French Immersion: The Trial Balloon That Flew* (Toronto: OISE Press, 1983), pp. 19-25.

   Summer Programs in French (Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French): annual.

Is Core French a Valid Option?

A Parents' Guide to the Core French Program

J. Clarence LeBlanc

Today's students will emerge into a Canada different from the one which greeted their parents at the end of their schooling. One of the many significant changes is the national attitude towards the "official languages." The B & B Commission, the Official Languages Act of 1969, the hundreds of millions of tax dollars provided for official language education by the Secretary of State, the language rights in the new Canadian constitution, the adroit activism of commissioners of official languages, and the efforts and vision of a significant number of community leaders and educators across the country, have all acted as catalysts to create this new Canada.

Myth and reality interact. While a large number of federal public service positions are either designated as "bilingual" or else categorized as jobs in which bilingualism would be an asset, they still constitute a very small proportion of the total number of posts in Canada, even in the public service. However, private industry is beginning to realize that bilingual employees cost no more to hire and offer real advantages to a company. Several recent political leadership campaigns have demonstrated that a unilingual candidate has very little chance of leading a national party. Finally, the immersion program has disproved once and for all the entrenched belief that Anglophones are congenitally incapable of learning another language. A recent nation-wide Gallup poll (CPF, 1984) found that two-thirds of English-speaking Canadians want French instruction in schools and 50 percent believe that French should be compulsory at the elementary school level. The same poll revealed that 60 percent of Canadians with children would enrol them in French immersion if it were available in their community.

It is important that parents, and students who are old enough to participate in the selection of their school courses, do not automatically assume that the opportunity to learn French has been missed if, for any number of reasons, immersion has not been available or has not been selected. Core programs are changing and are continuing to evolve rapidly. It is becoming evident that a core program is capable of providing a sound French second language training if given a chance. As Dr. H.H. Stern, the dean of second language educators has written:

> Much as I like and support immersion as an exciting and, indeed, essential alternative program in school systems, we do language teaching a disservice by overstating its success and, incidentally, also by overlooking its problems, but above all by deprecating, devaluing, and disregarding the potential of regular/core language programs. The majority of French language learners will have to learn French in a non-immersion core program.[1]

What is Core French?

Essentially, core French is a program in which French as a second language is taught for one period a day in the same timetable as other academic subjects. There are many differences in the various provinces and school jurisdictions across Canada. It may begin in kindergarten or only in grade 7. It may be compulsory in several grades, or only in one or in none. It may utilize well-trained specialists with the latest methods, or home-room teachers using the same textbooks used by the previous generation. It has a high priority in several provinces and is paid mere lip-service in others.

There are also variations and embellishments on the basic core program. Enhanced core, enriched core, extended core, and similar programs add a variety of elements ranging from simply giving more of the same to teaching another subject in French, to immersion weekends or summer immersion camps. If done properly and linked intelligently to the core French class, they can add important dimensions to the learning process and can improve the results. At best, they become almost a form of late immersion, but when their elements are not carefully planned and integrated with the regular program, they can be a waste of precious time and resources.

French as a second language is a unique subject in the curriculum because parents and older students have a fairly good idea of the desired end results. While they don't know how much mathematics or history they may need in the future, beyond what is sufficient to be accepted in a post-secondary institution, they know that they would like to be "functionally fluent" in French. At the first bilingual job interview, or at the first bilingual social occasion, they will know whether their French course was adequate.

This realization, as well as the political and social pressures previously mentioned, has forced core French teachers to re-examine their methods and their programs. All except the most entrenched have realized that the venerable grammar-translation method did not achieve fluency, whatever other benefits it might have provided. Other approaches such as the "audio-lingual" or the "audio-visual" or other variations of them, were never so successful that teachers, usually working under adverse conditions, did not backslide to some form of the "grammar-translation" method, albeit with a few more oral exercises.

The Communicative Breakthrough

Providentially, many diverse influences are coming together at the present time to provide core French teachers with the means to give their students the necessary competence to converse with, work with, and have more understanding of, Francophones. It must be conceded that not all second language professionals agree on just how these new ideas should be incorporated into their methods, but there is clearly a change of emphasis in language teaching. The main factors bringing about change are the following:

1. Many teachers and educational decision-makers were not satisfied with the *status quo*. They wanted the school system to give *all* students more practical and effective second language courses. There has been outstanding leadership and hard work from academics like Dr. H.H. Stern, professor emeritus of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education; Dr. Robert Roy of the University of British Columbia, founder of the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers; and from countless dedicated individuals and organizations in Canada. These include teachers, professors, parents, and Canadian Parents for French, the Canadian Teachers' Federation, outspoken Commissioners of Official Languages, some visionary politicians, and many other concerned citizens. The list is long but sufficient pressure was needed to remove the general inertia of a large and segmented education system such as our Canadian system.

2. A major research document produced by the Council of Europe called *The Threshold Level*, essentially proposes that language should be looked at not as a series of grammatical rules, but rather as what we *do* by means of language (functions), and as meanings that we want to transmit (notions). Its theoretical and practical framework is far more extensive than the old phrase dictionary. Students learn the most

useful structures and accumulate an increasing repertory of these. Using this approach in a classroom where communication is stressed breeds confidence which leads to fluency. Mary Finocchiaro, a very respected American second language author, has this to say about the functional-notional approach:

> It is many years since I have felt such a quickening of interest about any theoretical or methodological aspect of foreign language learning or teaching.[2]
>
> The tremendous merit of the functional-notional approach to learning is that it emphasizes the fact that the students and their communicative purposes are at the very core of the teaching program. The learner's actual and foreseeable academic, social, and vocational needs will underlie all aspects of the program's linguistic and cultural content.[3]

3. Federal funds in Canada were used imaginatively in several jurisdictions and in research institutions to evolve organizational frameworks for the delivery of core French programs.

4. Dr. Stern, in a major paper appropriately entitled, "French Core Programs across Canada: How Can We Improve Them?" proposed that all the major new theories and proposals concerning effective second language programs, including the considerable Canadian body of knowledge and experience, could be combined into a new curriculum. It would contain a Language Syllabus to teach the language itself, a Culture Syllabus, a Communicative Activities Syllabus for using the language actively to convey useful knowledge, and a General Language Education Syllabus to help the students to understand the phenomenon of language. The Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers accepted this general concept and formed a national committee to study the conditions required for a successful implementation.

As a result of these developments, we are beginning to see the necessary elements of a successful core French program appropriate to the newly-defined Canada referred to in the introduction. Naturally there are barriers to surmount:

Certainly, we need a great deal of research to prove or disprove certain theories and to resolve many conflicting claims.

No, there is no existing commercial method or textbook which incorporates all the elements of a true "functional-notional" communicative approach, nor any which incorporates the four syllabuses of Dr. Stern's proposal.

Yes, it takes very well-trained teachers, adequate time and sufficient other resources to make such a program successful.

No, all provinces are not urgently developing or implementing the components of an effective core French program. Window-dressing and rhetoric are still part of the scene!

Sadly, no, the provinces are not effectively co-operating to accomplish the necessary research and curriculum development. The constitution gives them the right to be parochial.

Hopefully, the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers' task force work on core French, as well as Canadian Parents for French, which has undertaken a research project, will be able to offer guidance and to inspire the Council of Ministers of Education and the Canadian Education Association to take action.

Reasonable Expectations: On Whose Part?

A language in general, and perhaps French in particular, is an extremely complex phenomenon. It comprises not only subtle sounds for the ear to recognize and the tongue to reproduce, but also nearly half a million words to remember, countless "rules" and exceptions, as well as the whole history and culture of those who speak it. Moreover, from the learner's point of view, to understand, speak, read and write the language, and to understand the culture, involve different, though complementary skills. The total number of bits of information would number many millions. Being "perfectly fluent" in a language involves the ability to understand normal speech with different accents and articulations, to speak readily in a manner appropriate to various situations, to master fully the syntax and grammar, and to understand and use the cultural references not only of French history, literature, and modern mores, but all of these also in a Canadian context. By these criteria, very few people are "perfectly fluent" in their native language, much less in a second language!

If we are to believe the critics of education, many students graduate from high school without the ability to read or write their own language even at a minimum standard. This after not only 11 or 12 years of classroom instruction but also about 85,000 hours of hearing and using the language in living situations. Studies which evaluate the performance level in French of graduating immersion students will give us a better understanding of the range of possibilities achievable through school programs.

It is obvious that we need a "reasonable expectation" of what can be achieved as a result of 500 to 1200 hours of classroom instruction in a second language even under good conditions. Most interested parents have been told this many times and are generally willing to accept the limited possibilities of such programs. However, the educational establishment has sometimes been more guilty of unreasonable expectations than parents. Most curriculum guides, even in those provinces which have not allocated many resources to French as a second language, proclaim that their programs will result in their students' understanding, speaking, reading, and writing the language at a useful level, and appreciating the culture. It seems logical to warn that in learning a language, as in any other complex activity, to attempt too much is to invite overall failure. Moreover, current research in cerebral development seems to indicate that children are far better able to learn languages by using them functionally, than by analyzing them in a structured way. Thus, teaching formal rules too early, particularly for writing, is likely a waste of valuable time.

Most parents and students would be satisfied if the school could, through a good core French program, provide a "basic verbal fluency." They would be happy if the students could understand and speak sufficiently well to satisfy, *with confidence*, normal social, travel, and communicative needs, and to have a basic appreciation of the other major linguistic group with whom they share Canada. This kind of base can be built upon in further educational or living situations. The vocabulary and basic linguistic skills for most jobs have to be acquired "on the job" even in one's native language. The essential language functions can be acquired in the same manner in the second language if, and only if, the person already possesses a basic verbal repertoire and the confidence to use it. These would be reasonable expectations.

A reasonable response from the schools would be to set basic communicative fluency as the first and over-riding priority. Of course, reading and writing can be used as auxiliary learning tools to vary the teaching methods, but only to serve the first priority, not as ends in themselves. To those who protest that these goals are too modest, that all four language skills are necessary, we can only say that once we have truly provided students with genuine communicative fluency and cultural empathy, we will also work to polish their grammar, teach literature, and develop writing skills, if there is time. Reasonable expectations set reasonable priorities.

The Proper Conditions

It is the responsibility of the provincial ministries of education and local school boards to provide the proper conditions for the achievement of these reasonable expectations. Until a national research project provides more definite answers as to these conditions, we have to rely on assumptions and common sense. Some conditions favoring success would include, until they are disproved:

1. A teacher who is competent in the target language and in language teaching, a highly specialized skill which requires personal qualities of empathy, imagination and energy. These requirements do not automatically mean "native speaker" nor a young teacher just out of university equipped with "new" methods. Many second language teachers have been emphasizing communicative competence for years. However, they do mean due care in the hiring and retraining process as well as vigilance that the best core French teachers not be appropriated by the immersion programs. Students in core French deserve and need competent teachers too!

2. A manageable class size. I wouldn't hesitate to set 25 as an absolute maximum. Is it reasonable to expect a junior high school teacher to face seven or eight groups of 35 immature adolescents for 30 minutes a day and make them fluent? Common sense suggests that fluency is acquired through an opportunity to use the language in a meaningful way. How many seconds a day can a pupil speak in a class of 35?

3. A modern Canadian communicative instructional program. This may be beyond the means of any one publishing house or any province but surely not beyond the means or ability of the nation! Two models are possible: a national task force which will provide a national curriculum guide which each province or publisher would adapt if necessary; or a basic program to be created centrally by the best people available, but in a form that would allow each region and each teacher to adapt some portions for their own needs.

4. Extensive cultural materials integrated into the program.

5. A testing program directly related to the course objectives.

6. Appropriate technological support.

7. Time: a minimum of 1000 to 1200 hours in total. There does not seem to be any proven "best way" of structuring this time or a "best age" at which to begin. Factors such as continuity and continuation to the senior year are generally agreed upon, however, and a concentrated period of living in French for a week-end, a summer period, or a school year is favored by many as a powerful catalyst.

8. Co-ordination. A successful program requires articulated objectives and procedures. A co-ordinator can infuse the program with enthusiasm and purpose, provide the necessary in-service training, supervision and encouragement, and very often can create curriculum materials. Until the ministries of education can provide these services directly to the teachers, a local co-ordinator is essential.

Testing: Good and Bad

The trend towards provincial exams is particularly dangerous for core French. It threatens to destroy the communicative emphasis in second language teaching before it is even well introduced. Teaching for fluency requires giving priority to listening and to meaningful speaking practice but "provincials" are usually written and emphasize knowledge of "rules." They also generate statistics by which schools and teachers are often judged and compared. Any sensible teacher will quickly abandon the communicative approach and teach the rules that are to be tested by the ministry. This scenario has already been played out in one province and is in danger of repetition elsewhere.

Fortunately, appropriate ways of testing do exist. New Brunswick, for example, has developed, through a contract with Educational Testing Services of Princeton, New Jersey, an open-interview technique to test students' verbal competency on a five-point scale. The method involves a free-flowing individual conversation skilfully guided and interpreted by the trained teacher-interviewers who visit all high schools. The trickle-down effect of this emphasis on teachers and students has been excellent. The test is directly related to what the students wish to achieve: functional fluency, and it allows the ministry to measure the real progress of its core French program in achieving stated goals. An adaptation of the same method is currently being promoted in the United States, and hopefully other provinces might devise or adapt similar methods in this critical area of evaluation.

Can Core French Be Effective?

Parents, students and educators reading this article really want the answer to only one question: can core French be effective? All the preceding background information is meaningless if at the "bottom line" core French is not capable of giving students sufficient competency in French to live and work in this "new Canada." Coyness and suspense do not really belong in an educational essay, and so I shall give my answer immediately. The answer is . . . YES, for interested students; a qualified YES for others.

Please remember that the question was not whether the present core programs are producing fluent graduates across Canada. A subjective answer to that question would be that not all programs across Canada even have fluency as a serious objective. An amazing number of second language professionals responsible for the development and implementation of core programs equivocate and obfuscate because they themselves have no faith that core can do the job. They talk of "exposure" and "potential for further study." They are a bit like clergymen who do not believe in God! As to political leaders, they often tell educators that if they can produce bilingual students while using a minimum of resources, they should do so. In spite of this, there are a great many "pockets of excellence" across the nation. They may be as large as a province or as small as a classroom. In every case they are the result of the work of dedicated and pragmatic people who can define and prioritize their objectives and contrive the means to attain them. The number of such effective (by my definition) programs is growing because the new developments previously cited are showing the way to many who were well-intentioned but stuck in some ineffective methodology.

When discussing "proof" that core French can be effective, we must come back to the questions of reasonable expectations, definition of "effective," and appropriate methods of testing. If we accept that basic verbal fluency is the highest priority, there are several strong indicators that core is producing good results. One indicator is the ability of students applying for the federally-funded summer immersion bursaries. Applicants are tested for streaming purposes, and while some core students are disappointingly low, many demonstrate a very gratifying competence. For these last, the summer program may be sufficient to boost their fluency and their confidence to the "functionally bilingual" level. Thus a good core program plus a summer immersion program is an option for parents, students and planners.

The most impressive "scientific" proof of which I am aware is the result of the New Brunswick oral testing program. In the spring of 1984, 1281 grade 12 core students were interviewed and 33 percent attained level 2 or 2+, and 9.2 percent attained level 3.[4] These levels are defined as follows:

LEVEL 2 — Able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements. Can handle with confidence, but not with facility, most social situations including introductions and casual conversations about current events, as well as work, family, and autobiographical information; can handle limited work requirements, needing help in handling any complications or difficulties; can get the gist of most conversations on non-technical subjects (i.e., topics which require no specialized knowledge), and has a speaking vocabulary sufficient to express himself simply with some circumlocutions; accent, though faulty, is quite intelligible; can usually handle elementary constructions quite accurately, but does not have a thorough or confident control of the grammar.

LEVEL 3 — Able to speak the language with sufficient structural accuracy and vocabulary to participate effectively in most formal and informal conversations on practical, social, and professional topics. Can discuss particular interests and special fields of competence with reasonable ease; comprehension is quite complete for a normal rate of speech; vocabulary is broad enough that he rarely has to grope for a word; accent may be obviously foreign; control of grammar good; errors never interfere with understanding and rarely disturb the native speaker.[5]

Even if a certain number of these students benefited from some other form of linguistic experience in French, these figures show that hundreds of students attained level 2 or higher through the core program, and an impressive number attained level 3, the standard expected from early immersion graduates. I know of schools where the grade 12 students average 2.4 on the scale and I am certain that hundreds of schools across Canada with oral-priority core programs achieve similar levels of fluency.

Of course the picture is not altogether rosy. Many students who complete inadequate core French programs crumble when confronted by even the simplest verbal requirements in French. Even in the "good" programs, the less able or less motivated students do not attain satisfactory competence and the better students quickly lose their fragile confidence after a certain time without practice. Their knowledge is not gone, simply their confidence.

The competency of teachers required for an effective core French program is another critical problem. We know that gifted and energetic teachers can produce impressive results, particularly when a school district is fortunate enough to have a team of such teachers. We do not know whether it is possible to train a sufficient number of such teachers for the whole country, or whether a communicative program can be developed which can be taught effectively by adequate but not super-gifted teachers. We should be wary of generalizing from the results of a few outstanding teacher-personalities. Only a major research project will determine the factors and conditions for a nationally effective program.

A Need for Intelligent and Diplomatic Lobbying

As a teacher, a parent, and a veteran of many liaison committees, I know the delicate balance which must be maintained by parents when questioning the educational program or lobbying for better services. The process would often test a diplomat and intimidate a warrior. Yet the system is sometimes amenable to the right kind of pressure. What avenues are open to concerned parents who wish the best quality core French program for their children? Here are a few suggestions:

1. Question and lobby at the right level. Teachers are employees of school boards and as such they are responsible for few of their working conditions. They are often stifled by inadequate programs and training, by too-large classes, lack of support, and low priority ranking. Moreover, they are prevented by their code of ethics and

their survival instinct from criticizing their employers. There is really very little that parents can do with teachers except to show interest and support whenever warranted.

2. Politicians are generally well intentioned. They have many other concerns and a good sense of the priorities of the majority of voters. These are not good times to suggest major outlays of additional funds and there is a heightened awareness of the value received for each dollar spent. They should be receptive to arguments that the millions presently being spent on core French programs of doubtful value are not being well spent. Adding a bit more money for co-ordinated research, leadership, and curriculum development could radically improve the cost/benefit ratio.

3. Intelligent lobbying begins with correct information. While individual parents seldom have the means to conduct research, they can ask questions. A letter to the school board or the department of education asking whether the core program includes oral testing, for example, will result either in a positive answer or in evasions, hopefully followed by some soul-searching.

4. Lobbying efforts are best addressed to someone capable of remedying the situation, but he may be difficult to find in education. Even ministers of education when lobbied, may plead sincerely that there are not sufficient funds to implement a truly effective core French program. Constitutionally, all power over education belongs to the provinces which delegate some of it to local school boards. Each level is jealous of its autonomy. Good research, curriculum developments and teacher training are very complex and to do them properly would require more expenditures than any single board or even a province could afford, given the other demands on its scarce resources. The Council of Ministers of Education of Canada exists to facilitate co-operation among provinces, but each province seems to prefer to muddle through individually. Without the larger vision of the national need and an understanding of the complexity of the problem, the Council will not be able to induce the provinces to solve a problem of this magnitude.

5. Problems are best recognized when their effects are easily perceived. Interruptions in electricity or water are fixed immediately, for obvious reasons. The effects of education are more subtle. Whether quality education is being provided or not, the children go to school every day. There is not even a broad consensus among professional educators whether schools should demand certain standards of academic performance or simply provide a sort of anthropological experience through which children should pass before entering society as adults. Drawing attention to the end results, or lack thereof, of core French programs being offered to about one and a half million students in Canada should eventually bring about some action where it is warranted.

6. Sheer tests of will in attempting to obtain one specific demand may be counterproductive if they antagonize the decision makers or other important segments of the community. Other more diplomatic avenues should be explored, and parents should be aware of other priorities. Flexibility, a balanced view, and a willingness to compromise occasionally, may be more productive in the long run.

Parents as Active Agents in Second Language Learning

Language, particularly as perceived in the functional approach, is a living thing. Even good schools and good programs can teach it only to a certain extent. This is illustrated by the deficiencies being noted with concern in the language use of graduating immersion students who have not pursued any linguistic experiences outside the classroom. The traditional excuse of parents that they have no French fluency and therefore cannot help their children is not valid. Some suggestions for helping children acquire more French, whether they are in core French or in immersion, are:

1. Help convince the children that they are learning French for themselves and not for the teacher or just as another subject. Every time that they "cheat" the teacher by speaking English instead of French, or do the least homework possible, they are cheating themselves and no one else. It may be a common North American mindset that education is free and compulsory and hence to be taken lightly, but responsible parents have always known better.

2. Attitude is critical in second language learning. Parents' attitudes toward the second language and culture are absorbed by the children and greatly affect subsequent learning.

3. Skillfully use available opportunities to hear, read, and speak French. Encourage the children to watch French television, to listen to French radio, to speak French with a relative or neighbor. We all know that some children will perversely resist such activities in the same way that they will resist music practice and vegetables. A certain degree of wile is required, but remember that parents have fewer children to deal with than the teacher, particularly the core French teacher. Children's ears have to be tuned to the sounds of French just as they were to the sounds of English when they were exposed to them as tots.

4. Put a few French gifts under the Christmas tree. A record, a book, even a poster can be very important. Teachers can usually offer guidance when asked in advance.

5. Let the children become your teachers. Learn or improve your French by having your child teach you one French structure per day. Build these up into a repertoire in the same manner as the teacher hopes to build up the child's repertoire. This procedure may not teach the child anything new, but it does provide extra practice which favors true assimilation. Remember, language is not just learned, it must be *over-learned* to enable automatic recall when needed in the future.

6. Encourage such activities as writing to a Francophone pen pal. Even if each writes in his/her own language, the experience can be very motivating.

7. Take initiatives to help organize trips, exchanges and camps. Parents who willingly volunteer to help with Scouts, clubs, or athletic teams, seem to assume that only teachers can organize educational activities. Teachers are restricted by many considerations in organizing co-curricular activities. They often hesitate to choose one class or one group among many, and to arrange activities in which some students, through no fault of their own, would not be able to participate.

8. Help your children plan for the long term. Second language studies should be on a continuum, if possible. High school option credits, summer jobs, post-secondary immersion summer courses, taking a communicative French course at university if possible, getting a bit of special tutoring before a job interview — all take planning. One important benefit of such foresight can be a clearer vision of more distant goals for the child. Many researchers report that "deferred gratification," the willingness to work hard now in order to realize a future goal, is a key element in academic success.

Conclusion

The situation in core French is by no means uniform across Canada. The criteria suggested in this article will give some basis for judging the quality of a core program. Where good ones exist, parents should encourage their children to work hard and to try to enhance their school experience with as many other pertinent exposures to French as possible. Where good programs do not exist, parents will

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recognize that their province or school board is not providing a French program which really leads to any useable level of verbal fluency. Intelligent and diplomatic lobbying will then be required, because parents know that good teaching of the second official language is not appeasement of the other language group, but will be a tremendous advantage for the future of their children.

Some may be tempted to give up on the core French program and advocate the widespread implementation of immersion. They should keep in mind that the new functional/communicative approach in better core programs is essentially a "mini-immersion" which lasts for only one period a day. In the long term it is entirely possible that the two approaches may merge into some sort of sequence such as: core from K to grade 6; perhaps two years of late immersion, followed by quality high school courses until graduation, supported by summer immersion programs and climaxed, hopefully, by relevant offerings in French at post-secondary institutions. There are many possible variations, but in all of them, there is a place for a good core program and, given the logistical and practical impossibility of a universal immersion program, there is not only a place for such a program, but a great need for it in this still-emerging "new Canada."

Notes

1. H. H. Stern, "French Core Programs across Canada: How Can We Improve Them?" adapted version of keynote address, "Let's Use Our Heads to Reach Their Hearts," to the 12th annual CASLT conference in Winnipeg, May, 1982, pp. 37.
2. M. Finnocchiaro, and C. J. Brumfit, *The Functional-Notional Approach: from theory to practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), pp. xiii.
3. *Ibid*, pp. 17.
4. Unofficial New Brunswick Department of Education data, 1984.
5. *Manual for French Interviewers* (New Brunswick Department of Education), pp. 8-9.

Co-existence or Assimilation: It's up to all of us

Paule Desgroseilliers-Macdonald

Francophones living outside Québec are a tenacious people. Although they have sometimes been identified as an endangered species, a nonexistent community, and even as a bunch of displaced French-Canadians, Francophones are surviving, and in provinces where their numbers are large and increasing, they are managing to arrest the assimilation rate. Francophones, as one of the two official language groups, have been surveyed, examined and dissected by private and governmental agencies in the hopes of finding causes for and answers to the assimilation problem. In spite of the strategies and master plans devised to resolve the issue, assimilation is still rampant in a number of provinces.

In this essay, I wish, as a Francophone living in the West, to share my perception of the assimilation issue, to present an overview of the members of the Francophone community, to identify some of the problems facing French-speaking citizens, and finally to look at the effect of bilingualism on these same citizens.

Assimilation, in my opinion, is firstly a personal matter and secondly, a community issue. On that premise, the individual bears a weighty responsibility in assuring that he and his family do not fall prey to assimilation. Cultural and linguistic survival are primarily individual matters, and as a community draws its strength from its individual members, it is only as vibrant as its membership. If its members are not prepared, on a personal basis, to commit themselves to safeguarding their linguistic and cultural heritage, then they cannot expect the leaders of the community to be the sole guardians of their rights and of their place in history. Also, they cannot expect legislation to guarantee the flourishing of the French-speaking community. The ultimate goal of the French-speaking population, that of the equal and just co-existence of both official linguistic groups, can only be achieved through individual commitment to bilingualism on the part of all Canadian citizens.

Being a Francophone in an English-speaking province is difficult and at times distressing. The farther away one lives from the Québec/Ottawa corridor, the greater is the feeling of separation and isolation. How a Francophone decides to cope with that physical and emotional distance is what enables him to survive and blossom as a French-speaking citizen or what leads him to be assimilated into the English majority. The means chosen by a Francophone to protect his culture and language will depend on his roots, his sense of historical and cultural heritage, and his understanding of his minority status.

Francophone communities differ from one province to another, but we can identify three major streams within those communities. First, there are the French-Canadians who were born and raised outside Québec and for whom Québec holds no historic or family attachment. Many of these Francophones know little of Québec and some have never even visited that province. For them, life has always been that of a minority group in an essentially English environment. In provinces where the number of indigenous Francophones is small and dispersed, the assimilation rate is alarmingly high. Many of these Francophones are unaware that their language is being constantly eroded by its minority status and that their culture is gradually transforming itself into folklore. In provinces, though, where the native Francophone population is large and where there are visible concentrations of Francophones, the assimilation rate is showing signs of decline.

Many factors are deemed contributors to this decline. Some speak of an increasing awareness by Francophones of the devastating effects of assimilation on members of their community; others mention a renewed sense of history and their rightful place in Canada; still others point to the emergence of an era of self-confidence. Whatever the factors, the important thing is that French-speaking people are wanting to develop a viable community and are taking the means necessary to survive and flourish. Be they Acadiens, Franco-Ontariens, Franco-Manitobains, these communities, after years of aggressive lobbying, are finally holding the attention of

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political, educational and private leaders. They have at least managed to begin a serious dialogue with decision makers.

Les Québécois made up a second stream within the Francophone community. Their numbers are greater in the western provinces, having been attracted by the promise of jobs and a more generous welfare system, should they be unable to secure work. This stream is divided into two segments: the unilingual Québécois and the bilingual one. For obvious reasons, the unilingual Québécois has a harder time in English Canada. Suddenly and forcefully awakened to the reality of the dominance of the English language and culture, the unilingual Québécois desperately seeks assistance in French with accommodation, job search and government bureaucracy. In major Canadian cities, the resident Francophone community is able to provide assistance with these problems; in rural and isolated areas though, information and resources in French are generally not available. For the unilingual Québécois, the reality of inadequate social services and the lack of economic opportunities in French bring to him the realization that he no longer is a political majority in a French province, but a linguistic minority in a bureaucratic system.

The bilingual Québécois, on the other hand, integrates himself easily into the dominant society. He often arrives with a job already designated, or with the assurance that his bilingualism will be an asset in his job search. If his stay is temporary, he may choose to experience fully the English environment and never contact the Francophone community. And choosing to do this, he will be far less demanding and expecting of services in French. If a bilingual Québécois decides to establish himself permanently, he generally becomes involved in some capacity with the Francophone community. He may simply rely on the community to provide him with cultural activities in French and end his involvement there. Or he may participate actively in Francophone organizations, thereby becoming increasingly sensitized to the issues facing Francophones and less tolerant of their situation in his adopted province. He will also feel susceptible to assimilation, even though his roots are deep and his language and culture innate, simply because he will inevitably encounter in his region examples of assimilated French-Canadians.

The final stream within a Francophone population is that made up of individuals from other French-speaking states. In provinces where the Francophone population is small and scattered, these people generally blend well with the other two streams, adding an international dimension to the Francophone base. They often bring with them expertise in specific areas and sophistication in artistic fields. Also, they tend to be secure in their identity as French-speaking citizens as they have arrived from countries where they were in the majority. The aura of self-confidence and equality which emanates from these individuals benefits greatly other members of the Francophone community.

In provinces where the indigenous French population is large, well-organized and under strong leadership, les Québécois and the "foreign" French are sometimes welcomed with reluctance. These two groups have been perceived in the past as usurpers, taking over jobs available to the bilingual members of the resident Francophone community or assuming paid leadership positions within the community itself, without knowledge of, or experience with, that community. But as the indigenous Francophones become better equipped with community development skills and acquire a renewed sense of pride and confidence in their identity as French-speaking Canadians, they are far less inclined to resent the presence of these "other" Francophones. Rather, they see them as allies, with unshakable convictions and creative experiences in survival.

Although assimilation is the most pressing issue facing Francophones, other problems must also be addressed, problems which, if satisfactorily resolved, can reduce the momentum of assimilation. One such area is the lack of services in French at provincial and municipal levels. So far, the federal government has been the major promoter of a bilingual Canada. It has demonstrated its commitment to bilingualism financially, legally and politically. Federal departments are continuously trying to reach voluntary agreements with the provinces which would demonstrate concretely their commitment to national unity. But provincial and municipal governments are generally reluctant to participate in the promotion of bilingualism and are not in favor of recognizing French as an official language.

Institutional bilingualism at all levels of government is a prerequisite for creating a true bilingual country, not only in the peripheral areas of Québec but in the major centres of every province and territory. The recognition by provincial and municipal levels of the necessity of institutionalizing bilingualism and the concrete evidence of such a commitment can only benefit the one million Francophones living outside Québec. It will be visible proof of the acceptance by the majority, of the historical and social position of the French-Canadian population.

Children of French and bilingual parentage stand to lose the most from living in an English environment. They are the potential victims of assimilation. Daily, they are bombarded with oral and visual images of the English language and culture and question their identity in relation to that of their peers. Francophone parents have an enormous responsibility: that of fostering a home environment where speaking French is natural, and living the culture, spontaneous. A child must feel that French is the language of the home, and that if there are two languages spoken, they have equal status. Children with a bilingual parentage must be able to identify one parent with one language; yet, they must see the non-Francophone parent appreciating the French culture and acquiring the basics of the language. Otherwise, the onerous task of transmitting both the language and culture rests with the Francophone parent who must do so in a bilingual home and in an Anglophone milieu.

This is why French schools are so vital to Francophones. They are seen as environments complementing the French domestic milieu. Education in French, for Francophones, is a fundamental right. The lack of a complete school system in French in most provinces and the inadequacies of the present educational programs for French-speaking children remain urgent issues. Francophones are demanding a distinct school system which their own community would administer. They want schools where there is no power struggle between the French and the English and where their culture and value system are transmitted to their children by French-speaking administrators and educators. Bilingual schools have been tried in many provinces. These schools, by creating a bilingual atmosphere, are of great benefit to Anglophone students in immersion programs, but for the Francophone youth, they only further their assimilation.

Although Francophones are lobbying energetically for their own schools, they are not opposed to bilingualism or biculturalism. Quite the contrary. Bilingualism is a way of life for Francophones. They realize that their social, political and economic activities in an English province are greatly limited if they are unable to speak English. So they acquire the language early and become bilingual citizens. But at the same time, they want to be treated fairly, not only at the federal level, but closer to home, at the provincial and municipal levels. This is why Francophones persist in asking the provinces for official recognition of their language and for true consultation with governments on matters affecting their lives.

Francophones are appreciative of the commitment to bilingualism demonstrated by the thousands of parents who have registered their children in French immersion and core French programs. This mass movement towards a bilingual education indicates an increasing awareness and acceptance of the linguistic and cultural duality of our country. The immediate benefits to Francophone children are considerable: acceptance by their Anglophone peers of the value of their language, discovery of their culture, and sharing of elements within that culture. Bilingualism benefits all, but not to the same extent. Anglophones are enhanced through bilingualism; in no way is their identity jeopardized by the acquisition of a second language. For Francophones outside Québec though, the situation is different. In most provinces, institutional arrangements to provide bilingual services are not in place, or if they are, are lacking in many aspects. Consequently, Francophones cannot express themselves in their language in the social, economic, political and educational spheres of their lives. And as language is tied to culture and cannot survive without expressions of that culture, it is essential for governments and institutions to put in place a framework which responds to the needs of the Francophone population within their borders.

Trying to live as French-speaking citizens in areas where there is no institutional framework, requires effort, creativity and determination. Still, it remains a personal goal of many Francophones and the collective goal of the one million Francophones living outside Québec. Francophones know that their dream of a truly bilingual Canada can never be realized without the understanding and acceptance of Anglophones willing to support them in the pursuit of this objective. Many English-speaking Canadians have shown their desire to participate in the making of a new nation where both linguistic communities will be able to co-exist equitably and harmoniously. In the final analysis, the survival of the Francophones outside Québec is not an issue solely for Francophones to resolve. It is an issue which must involve the majority; it is an issue for *all* Canadians.

A Progress Report from the Principal

Spencer Stanutz

Special Relationships of Parents with Immersion Principals and Staffs

One of the most difficult decisions parents must make in areas where immersion programs are available, is to enrol their child in the program or not. They make special efforts to inform themselves about the program and its effects, and about the school, its principal and its teachers. They attend special information nights, visit classrooms, discuss the pros and cons with the principal, the teachers, and with other parents. After the kindergarten entry interview, personal contact has been established and parents and school staff feel that they know one another well enough to share perceptions and to solve problems together.

Once committed to the immersion program, parents worry about their child's progress in this new experience. Their search for indicators of progress leads them back to the school where they hope to gain some reassurance by classroom observation and by informal talks with teachers. During their visits to the school, they notice that "Madame" has a lot of work to do and limited time in which to do it. Madame may hint that a good way to understand the immersion process is to sit quietly at the work table in the classroom and do some necessary task (cutting, coloring, stapling, etc.), all the while observing their child's performance. Parents are amazed that their child is actually able to learn concepts and skills through the medium of a second language. By being present, they not only feel they are observers, they feel part of the learning process. They love it! Madame loves the extra help! The pattern of involvement and easy communication is set for years to come. On any given day in an immersion school, there may be as many volunteers as teachers, and at special events, even more. The involvement, support and assistance of parents enhances the quality and contributes to the success of immersion.

If an immersion school has special needs that the board cannot provide, the parents will raise the necessary funds to meet them. Parents are protective of their school and the program. Principals and teachers are made aware of this attitude many times during a year. Ten years ago, parents had to be protective to assure the survival of the program. Today's parents are just as protective and they monitor closely board decisions that might affect their school. They are as skilful as ever at influencing trustees to provide the necessary resources for a quality immersion program. Teachers, principals, and students are encouraged by this commitment and determination.

There are, of course, many English-program schools in which caring parents and teachers work closely together to provide quality education. What makes the immersion schools special is an additional dimension, the unique and still mysterious process that children undergo in immersion which results in the close relationship of parents and staffs working together to achieve a common goal: a functionally bilingual graduate of a quality immersion education program.

Advantages of an Immersion Centre

Whether a school board establishes French immersion centres for immersion only, or dual-track schools where immersion and English programs co-exist, is more a political than a program issue. I have been fortunate to work for a board that is still experiencing growth in two areas of its jurisdiction and therefore was able to build new schools and to designate them as immersion centres. In the past two years I have opened two such schools and it is undoubtedly easier for a community to accept the establishment of an immersion centre in a new building than to reorganize an established school and to remove the English program. However, immersion centres have been so successful and so accepted that the Carleton Board of Education is considering a total reorganization which would house the immersion programs in each community in K to 8 centres exclusively. It should be noted that about 50 percent of the pupils in the Carleton Board are enrolled in immersion.

I am well aware that dual-track schools can offer quality education programs to their pupils, if numbers are sufficient to maintain both. My comments are not meant to deny that, nor to suggest that they are not meeting their educational and linguistic objectives. Research seems to indicate that test results for immersion students in both types are about the same. A principal and staff who believe in meeting children's needs and who believe in bilingual education will create quality education in either setting.

Nonetheless, there are two areas where the immersion centre seems to have an advantage: linguistic exposure and unity of school direction.

Linguistic Exposure

In the two centres that I have established, the language of communication is French. Rather than being relegated to the classroom or to a wing of the school, French permeates the whole school. The children live in French; they use it to meet their everyday needs. The principal counsels, encourages and reprimands in French. (This requires, obviously, that he can do so; if not, the vice-principal should be bilingual and available.) The school secretary deals with students in the office in French, and tends to their wounds with tender loving care in French. The building caretaker will retrieve a ball from the roof when asked in French; all announcements on the P.A. system are in French. Children fall easily into a pattern of communicating in French with adults other than just their classroom teacher.

We developed the following linguistic code: with teachers of English, we speak English out of respect for the teacher and the program. In organized activities, we speak the language of the person in charge; this is basic linguistic etiquette. At recess or at lunch, we speak the language of our choice. The rest of the time, we speak French.

By giving the children more opportunities to use French, we feel that we have also increased their ability and their confidence in understanding and speaking French. By widening the linguistic focus from the classroom to the rest of the school, we have given the children a more natural setting for really communicating in French.

School Direction

Since the immersion centre has only one program, the staff can direct all of its talents, energies and time in the one direction: meeting the needs of the children in an immersion program. This results in a sense of common purpose, and a remarkable cohesiveness of the staff. French teachers feel very comfortable with team and grade meetings conducted in French; they are pleased to be able to use French at staff meetings because many are more fluent in French than in English. English teachers, of course, operate in English, but most accept the predominance of French and take pleasure in immersing themselves to gain a working knowledge of French.

As principal of an immersion centre, I am able to direct my own time and energies in addressing the needs of the one program. Parents are very happy with the centre concept. They like the special ambience of the school and they are reluctant to transfer their child to another. They expect us to meet their child's identified learning needs in the immersion program and, in most cases, with the assistance of our Special Education Resource Unit teacher, we are able to do so.

These are some advantages that the immersion centre can have over the dual-track school. There are, of course, other important factors that contribute to a quality educational program — the ability and commitment of the principal, the expertise and dedication of the staff, the resource and program available — and these may be found in either type of school.

Children with Learning Difficulties

In any given year, primary grade (K to 3) teachers will refer approximately 10 to 15 percent of their pupils who are not progressing as expected in the French immersion program. Most of these are boys and a significant number are younger than their peers, with birthdays in November or December. In the early years of immersion these children would have been automatically removed from the program and transferred to the English program where many would do quite well, some might have the same difficulties as in immersion, and a few might require special class placement. All would lose the possibility of becoming bilingual through school programs unless a late immersion program were available.

This common practice of removing children with difficulties from immersion posed serious educational and moral questions for educators:

Why couldn't these children cope with immersion? Were our expectations so high that average-ability children could not possibly succeed?

Were we unconsciously developing a program only for the academic élite, as our detractors were so ready to point out?

Doesn't a child with a learning difficulty have a right to the advantages of a bilingual education?

In those early days, few had had experience in the immersion program, let alone experience dealing with children with learning difficulties in any program other than English. Some of us resolved the question of a child's right to bilingual education by deciding that indeed he did have, and must have, this right. With the assistance of our board's Special Services team, we started to assess these children and to develop remedial techniques and programs for them in the immersion context. Over the years we have developed the expertise to deal with most learning difficulties and to permit these children to remain in the program, reducing the drop-outs to about 2 percent.

Two major developments assisted in this task: the Early Identification program and the Special Education Resource Unit.

Early Identification Program

During my first years as principal of an immersion centre, I soon realized that the kindergarten teachers and I did not have the necessary information about incoming pupils to permit us to advise parents or to foresee possible difficulties. When the board asked for volunteer schools to pilot test an Early Identification procedure, I readily committed our school. Over the years the program was refined until it was deemed acceptable for all of the board's schools and shortly afterwards the Ontario Ministry of Education mandated such a procedure for all schools.

This program enables the school staff to compile a comprehensive profile on each incoming kindergarten child. Before formal classes begin in September, each parent is interviewed and shares with the kindergarten teacher the child's early history and developmental milestones and describes his home life and family background. The child is also interviewed to determine his language development and his grasp of certain concepts and is asked to perform certain tasks to assess his gross and fine motor development. During the fall term the Resource Unit teacher observes each child and confers with the classroom teacher about special cases. Serious problems are referred to the board's Special Services team who begin an assessment. Decisions about the child's program are taken during a parent-team conference. By late winter, the progress of each child is discussed with the project psychologist, and children whose progress is not satisfactory are referred for a psychological assessment.

By late May, at parent-team conferences, a decision on placement for the following year is made. Some children, mostly younger-than-average boys, will spend another year in kindergarten. Others will be promoted to grade one but monitored closely. Very few, if any, will leave the immersion program unless the parents decide that their children would do better in the English program. However, most parents prefer to leave their children in immersion when the proposed remedial program is outlined to them. Testing five-year-olds accurately is very difficult and results may vary greatly two months later. In all fairness to the children and with the concurrence of the parents, we feel that in most cases a program of remediation and close observation is advisable rather than abandoning the program on such flimsy evidence.

By the end of the first term of grade one, a "monitored" child who is not progressing as expected is tested again to determine the nature of his difficulty. With more knowledge of his learning style and preferred learning mode, we are able to program for him within the regular classroom with perhaps some time daily in the Resource Unit. Typically, these children do well in speaking and listening skills but need extra help to learn to read and write, as in all probability, they would have needed help in the English program. They may not do any better in immersion, but they will be bilingual!

In the spring of grade one, another parent-team conference is held to review the child's progress and to recommend a fall placement. Some might stay on as "continuing one's," others will proceed to grade two with special assistance as required. Close monitoring continues throughout the grades and children receive assistance as required. Classroom teachers are briefed on the problems and given strategies, programs and learning materials to meet the special needs of these children.

The Special Education Resource Unit

The Resource Unit is a special teaching area of the school where children with special needs are served. It is equipped with hardware (listening centres, language masters, tape recorders, computers), and software (texts, learning kits, computer programs and visual materials) to try to help these children. It is staffed by an experienced immersion teacher who is a specialist in special education. S/he is a special person who works well with children and communicates easily with teachers and parents. S/he is the resident expert who helps to confirm a teacher's diagnosis and to offer strategies, materials and programs which will assist the teacher to help the child.

S/he also instructs children who are withdrawn from their regular classes for special help on a schedule. In the Resource Unit s/he is assisted by other teachers assigned to the Unit for part of the day or by specially selected and trained parent volunteers.

Once a child has been assessed as requiring special assistance, the Resource Unit teacher must make sure that the classroom teacher implements the suggested program and must monitor the child's progress. Parents are kept informed of results and are consulted about program changes. Some children may need help for only a short time; they grow out of their problems. Others will require these periods of withdrawal from regular class even in the junior grades (4 to 6). The Resource Units have assisted children with identified learning difficulties to remain in the immersion program and to acquire bilingual skills.

Besides working with these children with learning problems, the Resource Unit teacher has two other major areas of responsibility: the gross motor program and the program for the gifted.

The Gross Motor Program

If you have observed children at play, you will have noticed that certain are poorly co-ordinated. They have difficulty skipping, throwing a ball and catching, or climbing on a play apparatus. They are not good at sports and are always the last ones picked for a team. Many of these children, again mostly boys, are the same children who have problems in the classroom.

By age seven a child should have good control of the gross motor muscles. In September we screen our grade two pupils to find children whose development in this area is weak. Those identified are invited to join a special gym club and to come to the gymnasium every morning on arrival at school. They go through fifteen minutes of special exercises designed to help gross and fine motor development. Children progress rapidly and usually do not require more than a year in the program. The Resource Unit teacher is responsible for the screening and the design and implementation of the program. S/he is assisted by two adult volunteers daily. We are convinced that there is a direct link between gross motor development and academic achievement at this age level.

The Program for the Gifted

The Resource Unit teacher also has responsibility for this program, including the identification of pupils, the design and implementation of in-class programs, and of some special activities for which certain pupils are withdrawn temporarily from the class. Examples of these programs are given in another article in this volume by two experienced Resource Unit teachers, Ms. Tourond and Sigler.

Implications for Immersion Teachers

The philosophy of meeting the needs of children with learning difficulties within the immersion programs has serious implications for the classroom immersion teacher. In the past, immersion teachers could get rid of these children because, once identified, these problems were removed from immersion and handed over to the English program teacher. In some places this may still be common. Many immersion teachers became accustomed to teaching only one stream — the bright one! Now that teachers are expected to cope with these children in the immersion classroom, with help, they are taking a new look at their programs, determining curricular objectives and grouping children according to their capabilities and development. We can no longer expect that the English program should handle all of the problems that have been weeded out of immersion. By and large, immersion teachers have accepted this new challenge. In the process they are finding that the programs developed ten years ago are no longer adequate for this new reality and must be redesigned.

In our school, teachers hold team meetings before each term to determine objectives, and they co-operate in developing strategies and materials to meet these common objectives. They are convinced that we must make immersion education accessible to as many children as possible, to make it a regular program with the same services and specialist teachers as in the English program. If 50 percent of the students (in Carleton) are in the immersion program, one should expect 50 percent of the problems and challenges, and be prepared to meet them in that program.

Implications for the Middle and Secondary Schools

At present, immersion students who proceed to the middle schools at grade 7 and are discovered to have learning problems, or to be behind their peers, are often counselled out of the program before the end of the first term. A significant number of students is also talked out of the program at grade 9 when they enter secondary school. As one who has seen what can be done in the elementary grades, I suggest two innovations for the middle and secondary schools:

1. bilingual Resource Unit teachers who can work within the immersion context as well as in English;

2. a second level of program designed for students who are not academically superior, where numbers permit.

Secondary schools do offer a range of courses in English at the so-called general level for non-university bound students. Where numbers are sufficient, they should also offer similar courses in French to students who may be going to community colleges or to work after high school. Unfortunately few secondary schools offer a great choice of options even to the advanced level students, and so they are not likely to increase the levels of their offerings.

Reactions of Parents of Children with Learning Difficulties

Naturally, most parents are shocked to learn that their child has a learning difficulty. Some are incredulous and seek a second opinion from a child psychologist in private practice. A few blame the teacher or the principal for inadequate performance, but most finally come to the realization that their child has special needs which must be met.

Once the school staff has outlined the problem and the proposed program to correct it, the parents have a serious decision to make. Some parents remove the child from the program immediately because they feel that the cost of being bilingual may be too high for him. Most now decide to leave the child in the program because remedial service is available, but some reconsider later and remove the child, feeling that the immersion program is part of the problem. Approximately 80 percent of the parents of children with learning difficulties now leave their children in the program in this school, and they are grateful and pleased that their children can remain in the program and achieve the benefits. Immersion education must not be for the academic élite only! Bilingualism is essential for children of all levels of ability.

Immersion has come a long way in twenty years! This is definitely a report of PROGRESS, but we still have a long way to go!

Note: For a good summary of the pros and cons of dealing with learning difficulties in immersion, see Chapter 7, "Learning Difficulties in 'immersion' programmes," in *Bilingualism and Special Education: Issues in Assessment and Pedagogy*, by Jim Cummins, published by Multilingual Matters in 1984.

The Case for Dramatization

Alexander Fancy

Introduction

Our purpose is to present a case for dramatization, an approach to teaching and learning French as a second language which can make these two activities more engaging and more effective. The arguments and conclusions are based on more than a decade of experience and experimentation in classrooms and in the theatre.[1] Although most of our work has been done with university students, we have concluded that dramatization promises rewards for teachers at other levels and for students of other ages. We will present the case for dramatization, the dramatic language, and modes of dramatization in the hope that the article will be both convincing in its theoretical rationale and helpful from a practical viewpoint.

The Case for Dramatization

Language is a complex communicative activity comprised of three dimensions, word, tone, and gesture, which are, respectively, linguistic, musical, and physical in nature.[2] The first is cognitive, but the other two are "non-verbal" or "expressive," and comprise all those nuances which account for the difference between *what one says* and *the manner in which one speaks*. During the act of speech, the non-verbal (musical and physical) mechanisms are engaged simultaneously and, as Marshall McLuhan observed, "The spoken word involves all of the senses dramatically, though highly literate people tend to speak as connectedly and casually as possible . . . literate man can learn to speak other languages only with great difficulty, for learning a language calls for participation of all the senses at once."[3] Despite their importance, the non-verbal mechanisms receive too little attention in our classrooms, and students encounter methods which neglect the dynamics of speech, an act which relies heavily on these mechanisms. It is not surprising that speakers who possess certain cognitive skills appear nevertheless awkward and anxious, nor that their delivery lacks conviction and authenticity.

When we assessed the effectiveness of our first dramatic productions, one fact was particularly clear. Theatre, or more precisely the act of dramatization, offers exciting possibilities to the student of French who would like to harmonize word, tone and gesture to convey convincingly a particular character. This definition of linguistic fluency conveys also the goal of a person who moves and speaks in a theatrical space.

Specialized observers of non-verbal behavior have claimed that the close harmonization of word, tone and gesture characterizes speakers of French in particular.[4] Numerous spectators have supported this view by affirming that students who had highlighted (dramatized) specific non-verbal actions which seemed appropriate to particular characters in particular contexts appeared in most cases to be completely bilingual when they performed on the stage as actors. This audience reaction, sustained over many years, was supported by our own growing realization that dramatization can be of particular value to students of French, whose bilingualism is part of the theatrical illusion they have created, whose confidence is reinforced by the dramatic experience, and who are almost always anxious to continue their experimentation with theatre, with dramatization, and with the dramatic language they have begun to explore.

The Dramatic Language

Dramatization is not unlike other systematic approaches to language learning in that it proposes its own language. As a mediating language between silence and effective verbal activity it is only a means to an end, but it should be accepted and mastered, particularly by teachers. The dramatic, or expressive, code is comprised of the non-verbal mechanisms, all of which help to shape the message which is communicated. While they are implicit in both theatrical and classroom activity, we believe that they should receive some deliberate attention in both places, for it is in this way that the dynamics of interaction can be highlighted, examined, and made more comprehensible. We have found that, rather than being intimidated by non-verbal activity, many students develop an intense interest, particularly as they realize that mastery of the code is permitting them to become actors, more effective interpreters of their second language.

Our criteria for "effectiveness" are the following: (1) the ability to express oneself with precision, clarity, spontaneity, color and confidence; (2) the ability to express ideas, attitudes, sentiments and moods; and (3) the ability to engage and sustain the attention of others in a variety of circumstances. The first elements in the expressive code are "musical," and systematic dramatization of these mechanisms can enhance the ability of a student/actor to speak with precision, clarity, color and confidence.

By doing exercises which highlight the character of each of the thirty-six French PHONEMES, or basic units of sound, students come to appreciate in concrete terms the phonological structure of French, the texture of the surface of the language, and the tension within the language. Appreciation of these and other prosodic features is only meaningful if they can be reproduced convincingly by the students/actors, preferably in a "situation," theatrical or otherwise. The number and variety of such contexts are limited only by the imagination of the teacher/director and his students/actors. Our students experience the dramatic opposition which separates the phonemes [i] and [u] by searching for Kiki and Mistigris ("Minou, minou, minou, minou. . .") or by attempting to locate Pictou, Rimouski and Louisbourg ("Où se trouve Rimouski?" "Rimouski se trouve à dix milles d'ici, mon ami[e]."). The final 'a' and its sombre character are experienced when speakers react to events such as "un assassinat" or "un attentat" ("C'est déplorable! C'est macabre! C'est épouvantable!"). The relative tension and relaxation of the closed and open 'e' can be noted and dramatized when speakers shout slogans[5] ("Liberté! Egalité! Fraternité! Baissez le prix du lait! Baissez les frais de scolarité! L'énergie, oui! La nucléaire, non!").[6]

Appreciation of the phonemes allows students to reproduce more effectively the French PHONETIC WORD, or syllable, which is formed as often as possible according to the principle of "open" (vocalic) endings, a notion which is fundamental yet often unappreciated. One has only to ask Anglophone speakers to deliver words such as "liberté" (li/ber/té) or "téléphone" (té/lé/phone) to determine whether the principle is respected.

One or more phonetic words form a RHYTHMIC GROUP, and consistent attention to rhythm will lead to a more comprehensible delivery which commands more attention from the person addressed. The close relationship between music and meaning is evident in the structures of rhythm, since each new rhythmic group brings new clarity or color, or both, to the message which is being articulated. Our students/actors who compose and deliver announcements for new products do not sell their commodity if they fail to capitalize on the power of rhythm! This feature of speech is inseparable from ACCENTS, which provide intellectual emphasis (*l'accent tonique*) or emotive stress (*l'accent d'insistance*).[7]

The tonic accent, which strikes the final pronounced vowel of each rythmic group, can lengthen the vowel it stresses; certain vowels are longer than others by their very nature; and the phenomenon of *allongement* causes exceptional lengthening under certain circumstances.[8] Appreciation of *quantité* (VOCALIC DURATION) is essential for anyone who wishes to be an expressive speaker in his second language.

INTONATION is the most complex of the musical non-verbal mechanisms, and each variation of the intonation in a statement can convey a change of emphasis, a new emotive nuance, or even a shift in meaning. Rather than giving discourses on the complexities of intonàtion, the teacher/director should, in a routine manner, encourage speakers to vary tonal patterns.[9] The same can be said of VOCAL COLOR: the student/actor should be prepared to "color" a message by varying the tone of statements. (The impact of changing color can be shown clearly with statements as simple as "Asseyez-vous! Ne partez pas! Que voulez-vous? Où vas-tu?")

A clear tone accompanied by a facial expression which is sombre, critical, angry or indignant, or a sombre voice which is contradicted by a positive facial expression can suggest irony, a rich source of expressiveness and a dramatic attitude which can provide at least the illusion of having liberated the speaker from constraints imposed upon him in the course of his existence.[10]

ENERGY is a "musico-physical" non-verbal mechanism, and can also be an important source of expressiveness. Speakers can benefit from a deliberate effort to vary energy levels to evoke different attitudes. Such a strategy can provide more than the prospect of delivering lines in French with greater conviction and confidence: like the previous mechanism, it can provide an opportunity for the speaker to assert his independence in the face of the "pseudorationality"[11] of contemporary life or of his own existence. We have often noted the pleasure with which students/actors deliver lines with intense enthusiasm ("Je pars pour Paris, pour y passer les vacances de Pâcques!") or with total indifference, even contempt ("Mêtro, boulot, dodo, c'est toujours la même affaire!").

Interaction continues during SILENCE, both on the stage and in real life. In a language class it is too easy to neglect the importance of pauses and to assume that the second language is spoken continuously. When students participate in dialogues, theatrical or otherwise, they should attempt to articulate a physical and gestural behavior which reinforces or evokes an unspoken attitude or sentiment appropriate to a particular situation and character. It is interesting to note that French actors and observers of theatre often sense that an English actor seems to relax while not speaking, while a French actor seems to remain in character.[12]

It is also important not to neglect INTERJECTIONS, those expressions whose function is affective rather than cognitive, which underscore unarticulated attitudes and emotions and which are essential rather than superfluous if a speaker is to strive for both authenticity and freedom of expression. (Examples are "Bof! Youpi! Aïe, aïe, aïe! Oh là là! Heu. . . Pouah!" and "Pffue!")

Anthropological observations seem to confirm the function of French gesticulation as the expression of a state of mind, rather than as an effort to suggest activity (see note 4). In view of the close harmonization of word, tone and gesture, it is important to encourage actors to find PHYSICAL ATTITUDES, MOVEMENTS and GESTURES which seem appropriate to a particular character and situation, rather than to impose a physical behavior which is perceived as "typical" yet may appear exotic or awkward. A gesture noted in Paris may not be employed in Montréal, an attitude appropriate to one character might not suit another, or a movement which underscores one context might seem to contradict another. Our own experience shows that students/actors can benefit most from an approach not unlike that of Stanislavsky, whereby gestures are articulated from within. A consistent attempt to use gestures in a manner which is clear, precise and deliberate without being exaggerated, can also help students to respect the imitative character of French gesticulation.

The same approach to gesture is often advocated by theatrical directors.[13] *Le mouvement* seems to reflect *un mouvement de l'âme*, and for this reason specific gestures should be incorporated into graceful and continuous movement. (Here is an example of such a "movement," which reinforces the answer to the question: "Dis donc, est-ce que tu fais du yoga?" *"Moi? Du yoga? Jamais de la vie!"* The fingertips touch the chest to accentuate "Moi?"; the hands then extend straight outward, the empty palms facing upwards and symbolizing yoga's lack of significance for the speaker; the hands then turn over and become perpendicular to the arms and seem to be pushing away an activity which is suspect or disliked. The activity should be perceived by the person spoken to as a single movement rather than as a series of gestures.) It is not difficult to establish a repertoire of such movements, but speakers should be encouraged to employ only those movements with which they feel comfortable.

Any speaker seeks to dominate and explore a space which separates and protects him from the person addressed, while establishing a DISTANCE which is appropriate to role relationships, the tone of the exchange, the ambience and the cultural norms which influence the participants, not to mention his own character. Students should have the freedom to explore distance, and to work in AMBIENCES which are varied and conducive to differing and imaginative exchanges.

The dramatic language should liberate students who have become actors, who might rediscover the individualism, the energy and the confidence which they lost while they played the role of student. Dramatization can be a truly creative act, if one shares D.W. Winnicott's definition of creativity: "la coloration de toute une attitude face à la réalité extérieure."[14] While dramatization seems to lead students away from language into the non-verbal realm, this departure is temporary because, as they become actors and begin to articulate attitudes toward their world, there is a renewed and intense interest in language — and in the power of language. A student has really become an actor when he seeks to learn new languages which are practical, poetic and picturesque, and which will permit him to express views of his world. He will then be able to share the linguistic insights of the two groups whom Paul Goodman called the real creators: artists and the people. These two groups are more likely to go beyond the limits of most language, which is "dull, stereotyped, lazy or correct."[15] Dramatization promises liberation from the many forces which stifle individualism in our society; of these the dynamics and language of education can seem to be the most formidable.[16]

However, this creative liberation is only possible if teachers are comfortable with the dramatic language, if they are prepared to dramatize any and all pedagogical material, and if they seek to broaden their material to include as many of the following "registers" as possible: colloquial exchanges, texts of everyday encounters, documents composed by the teacher and his students, poetic texts, and dramatic literature.

Modes of dramatization

We have evolved four modes of dramatization:

(1) *L'expressivité.*[17] For reasons stated above, expressiveness in the classroom should be routine. We maintain that the most trite pedagogical material can be "dramatized" — interpreted to highlight the non-verbal mechanisms and to evoke a context — without deviating, except perhaps momentarily, from the objectives inherent in the material.

(2) *Séances d'animation*. Students explore, in a large unencumbered space, the musical and physical non-verbal mechanisms while interpreting dialogues: the touchstone of the dramatic approach. A basic dialogue, which may have been learned in advance, can usually be varied to a surprising degree, often providing a natural but

reasonably systematic way of learning new words and expressions. Often the dialogues evolve into improvisations and free discussions.

The repertoire of dialogues is large and always changing[18] and the teacher (who is an *animateur*) must be vigilant, to note those which do or do not appeal at a particular time. Many of the dialogues rely on conflicts of roles, personalities, attitudes or moods, such as encounters between clients and public servants, aggressive salespersons and wary customers, two persons who follow different life styles, and two persons with different energy or involvement levels. Many dialogues highlight phonetic, prosodic or non-verbal features. Some involve repetition, which allows for practice without tedium. Some involve a search for a place or establishment, which allows for a high degree of authenticity. Each teacher/animateur should build his own repertoire, keeping in mind the interests and needs of his students, who should also contribute to the repertoire.

(3) *The mini-spectacle*. We have found that the spectacle comprised of brief and varied texts (poems, songs, dramatic extracts, other documents and teacher or student compositions) chosen, in collaboration with the students, if possible, to highlight a particular theme, and rehearsed intensively for a short time, can be most rewarding in terms of the effort expended. Many students can be included, yet rehearsal time can be planned very efficiently. Expenses can be kept to a minimum. It is possible to include texts which vary in difficulty, tone and accent. Our themes have included Mon pays, La Solitude, Le Rhinocéros et la fleur, La Machine and L'Enfance. Students have been particularly excited by Canadian texts and by texts which portray man's endeavor to preserve his humanity in the face of forces such as war, the advance of technology, and education.[19]

(4) *The major production*.[20] A smaller group of interested students can participate in an experience which can be intensive and rewarding on linguistic, cultural and human levels. We have had particular success with Molieran comedies where the *idée fixe* of the central character motivates the other characters; comedies of the absurd where students can embrace a human condition which so much of their education seeks to deny (the mechanical acting style also allows for a very deliberate kind of dramatization, since it underscores the mechanization of contemporary man); plays which treat a specific concern, such as war or the condition of the Québécois; and reviews comprised of works of one author, which seek to illuminate his genius (to date we have examined Nelligan and Molière in this way). The case for the major production is supported by the rationale for dramatization and by the need to pay more attention to biculturalism in our country. Bilingualism will not be sufficient to promote a higher level of mutual understanding, because we cannot dialogue in a cultural vacuum.

Conclusion

Dramatization serves linguistic ends, but it can also promise a release from atrophy, in both languages. It allows the illusion of relevance, and the chance to explore and exploit one's affective energy. The more a student has become an actor, the more his interpretation of language will be expressive, and the more he will be confident with his new language, his new culture, and his new identity.

Notes

1. The productions are presented on a strictly non-profit basis by Tintamarre, Mount Allison University's French language troupe, which is directed by the author. We are grateful to the O'Brien Foundation, whose generosity made certain of the recent activities possible.
2. Edward T. Hall, *The Silent Language* (Garden City: Doubleday "Anchor Books," 1973).

3. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding media: the extensions of man* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1964), pp. 77-78 and 267.

4. Salvador de Madariaga, *Englishmen, Frenchmen, Spaniards* (Oxford: University Press, 1929), pp. 57; Ruesch, Jurgen and Kees, Weldon, *Nonverbal communication. Notes on the visual perception of human relations* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 22 and 25; Gerald Fleming, "Gesture and body movement as mediators of meaning in our new language teaching systems," *Contact*, vol. 16, 1971, pp. 21.

5. There is great merit in having timid students use language described as "conatif" by François Flahaut, in *La Parole intermédiare* (Paris: Seuil, 1978), pp. 33. A principal function of such language is to "produire un effet sur le destinataire."

6. A book containing many such strategies is in preparation. For details contact the author (Department of French, Mount Allison University, Sackville, New Brunswick, Canada, E0A 3C0).

7. The Canadian *accent pré-tonique* can also be practised. Regional variants and local color must not be neglected, and Canadian prosodic features can be described with precision once the dramatic language has been assimilated.

8. Any vowel stressed by a tonic accent can be lengthened before [R], [V], [VR], [z], [ʒ] and [j]; the vowels [a], [o], [ø], [œ], [ɛ̃], [ã] and [õ] can be lengthened if they are stressed by a tonic accent and followed by a pronounced consonant in the same word. The 'ê' is sometimes considered to be in the same category.

9. It can be helpful to present "basic intonation patterns." See Pierre Delattre, "Les Dix Intonations de base du français," *French Review*, vol. XL., no. 1, October 1966, pp. 1-14; Monique Callamand, *L'Intonation expressive* (Paris: Hachette / Larousse, "Le Français dans le monde / B.E.L.C.," 1973); Geneviève Calbris, and Jacques Montredon, *Oh Là Là! Expression intonative et mimique* (Paris: Clé International).

10. Alain Berrendonner states in *Eléments de pragmatique linguistique* that irony "peut apparaitre dans l'ordre de la parole, comme le dernier refuge de la liberté individuelle" (Paris: Minuit, "Propositions," 1981), pp. 239.

11. The term is used by Cornelius Castoriadus in *L'Institution imaginaire de la société* (Paris: Seuil, 1975), pp. 219.

12. Ray Birdwhistell, *Kinesics and context. Essays on body motion communication* (Philadephia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), pp. 55.

13. See, for example, H. D. Albright, *Working up a part* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1959), pp. 31-33. Albright prescribes these rules: "Move only for a specific dramatic purpose . . . Make your movements clear, firm and deliberate," and "Don't overdo!" Jean-Louis Barrault stated, during a lecture given at the Théâtre du Rond-Point (Paris) in 1982, that "Forty percent of our contractions are useless."

14. D. W. Winnicott, *Jeu et réalité. L'Espace potentiel* (Paris: Gallimard, 1971), quoted by J. M. Carré, and F. Debyser, *Jeux, langage et créativité* (Paris: Hachette / Larousse, "Le Français dans le monde," 1978), pp. 7.

15. Paul Goodman, *Speaking and language: defence of poetry* (New York: Random House, "Vintage Books," 1972), pp. 55.

16. This idea is well developed by Claude Pujade-Renaud, and Daniel Zimmerman, in *Voies non-verbales de la relation pédagogique* (Paris: Editions ESF, "Sciences de l'Education," 2nd ed., 1979).

17. Alexander Fancy, "Expressivité: An approach to French language instruction," *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, vol. 32, no. 4, March 1976, pp. 410-414.

18. Here are some typical dialogues:
    i. A. J'aimerais toucher un chèque, s'il vous plait. B. Ce guichet est fermé. A. Comment? B. Ce guichet est fermé! A. Aie, aie, il ne manquait plus que ça . . . après dix minutes de queue, ce n'est pas possible! Aie, aie, aie . . .

ii. A. Pardon, Monsieur. Monsieur . . . où se trouve le bureau du Directeur, s'il vous plaît? C'est que j'ai rendez-vous et . . . B. Troisième porte à gauche, au fond du couloir. A. Est-ce qu'il est là? B. Oui. A. Merci.

iii A. Pardon, Madame . . . où se trouve "Les Trois Mousquetaires," s'il vous plaît? B. Les trois quoi? A. Les Trois Mousquetaires . . . c'est un bar. B. Ah! Je ne fréquente pas ces endroits-là! A. Ah, bon . . . merci tout de même . . .

iv. A. Mademoiselle . . . sauriez-vous où se trouve le commissariat de police, s'il vous plaît? B. Je suis désolée, Monsieur . . . je ne connais pas le quartier. A votre place, je demanderais à quelqu'un dans le café, là. A. Merci . . .

v. A. Zut, alors! B. Qu'est-ce qu'il y a? A. Le téléphone ne marche pas! B. Ne t'énerve pas . . . tu n'as qu'à contacter le service des réparations. A. Comment veux-tu que je contacte le service des réparations, avec ce téléphone qui ne marche pas?!

19. An example of the presentation of this last theme is *Répétez après moi! An irreverent review of language education*, a 45 minute parody comprised of texts by Ionesco, this author and others, which was presented to delegates to the 1984 conference of Canadian Parents for French, in Saint John, New Brunswick.

20. Alexander Fancy, "A Case for second language theatrical productions," *The Canadian Modern Language Review*, vol. 30, no. 4, May 1974, pp. 362-365.

Research Update: The New Brunswick Study

Sharon Lapkin and Merrill Swain

The immersion 'experiments' of the last two decades have included a substantial research component addressing urgent questions about the general academic progress of French immersion students. In view of the reassuring answers to these questions (e.g., Swain and Lapkin, 1982[1]), the emphasis in ongoing research has shifted to examining the second language (French) development of immersion students.

French skills, then, were the focus of attention in a recent province-wide evaluation of early and late immersion programs in New Brunswick. The New Brunswick Department of Education contracted with the Modern Language Centre of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education to conduct the evaluation during the 1982-83 school year.[2] The main research question was: what is the French second language achievement of early immersion students at grades 3 and 6, and of early and late immersion students at grade 9? More extensive data were collected at the grade 9 level (than at the grade 3 or 6 levels) where, in addition to a battery of French tests, student questionnaires were also administered. Information from these questionnaires on patterns of French language use and student perceptions of their own abilities in French proved invaluable in assessing the relative effects of early and late immersion programs. In this article we present research findings for grade 9 only.

The research question, as stated above, requires a set of criteria for evaluating the second language skills of French immersion students. These criteria should be developed in the light of the linguistic goals of the French immersion program, and should flow from a theoretical view of what constitutes language proficiency. The general linguistic goal of immersion education is to enable students to communicate effectively in their second language. This involves the receptive skills of French listening and reading comprehension, as well as the productive skills of speaking and writing.

In October 1983, the OISE Modern Language Centre completed a large-scale project funded by the Saskatchewan Department of Education in the area of communicative French language test development (Lapkin, Swain, and Cummins, 1983).[3] In the initial stages of that project, an annotated list of existing French language tests was compiled (Lapkin et al, 1984).[4] Although tests of the receptive skills as well as some achievement tests measuring knowledge of French grammar are available, there was a clear gap in the area of testing French speaking and writing skills. The result was the development of the Saskatchewan French Language Evaluation Units to help fill that gap. These test materials were designed for use at grades 3, 6 and 9 in both French immersion and French minority language schools. They are based on a theoretical framework of communicative competence developed by Canale and Swain (1980;[5] see also Canale, 1983[6]).

The framework identifies four components of communicative competence. These include grammatical, sociolinguistic, discourse and strategic competence — labels which reflect the salient characteristics of each. Grammatical competence includes knowledge of vocabulary, rules of word formation, pronunciation/spelling, and sentence formation. Sociolinguistic competence reflects the degree to which specific utterances are appropriate, given the topic, the status of the participants, the purpose of the interaction, and other aspects of the sociolinguistic context. Discourse competence includes the mastery of cohesion (e.g., the ability to connect discourse and text with appropriate conjunctions or adverbs) and coherence, the ability to arrange ideas in logical sequence and organize meanings effectively. Finally, strategic competence involves 'coping' strategies used by learners to avoid breakdown in communication or to enhance the effectiveness of spoken discourse or written text.

This model of communicative competence suggests that these competencies are relatively independent one from the other, and that second language learners may differ from native speakers in their relative mastery of these skills. Each task in the Saskatchewan French Language Evaluation Units was designed to tap at least one of these areas of knowledge.

Adopting the theoretical framework outlined above provided us with our definition of what it is to be proficient (or communicatively competent) in a language. Assessing the proficiency of second language — in this case immersion — students also involves examining the speech and writing of native speakers of French to determine to what extent immersion students' French skills resemble those of their Francophone peers.

Fortunately, within New Brunswick, there is a unilingual French-speaking population in the Edmundston area, providing an excellent comparison group against which the French language skills of immersion students can be compared. In addition, some data from unilingual French-speaking students in Québec were collected in the context of the Saskatchewan project; these can be used to augment the available native-speaker test results.

Before presenting the results, we shall describe the test instruments, the sample of students participating, and the methods of analysis.

The Sample

Almost all grade 9 classes in the province participated in the evaluation: of 13 early immersion classes, ten were included, and of 12 available late immersion classes, nine participated. In all, 218 early immersion and 192 late immersion students were tested. For the speaking and writing tests, however, a random sample of eight students per class was selected. In selecting the samples for these tests, information from the student questionnaires was used to ensure that only students who had been in the early or late immersion program from the starting grade level were chosen. As a further check on the comparability of the early and late immersion groups, an IQ measure was administered. The results show no statistically significant difference in measured IQ between the grade 9 program groups. In selecting the comparison class of unilingual French-speaking students from Edmundston, an effort was made to locate a class in which the socioeconomic characteristics of the families would be similar to those of the immersion groups tested.

Test Instruments

A Second Language Student Survey was administered to all grade 9 students to obtain information on the immersion program history or background of each student, students' patterns of French language use in and out of school, and their perceptions about their French language skills. Information was also requested on the educational background of parents and on parental occupations.

The *Test de compréhension auditive* (TCA), a French listening comprehension measure, consists of taped segments (e.g., a radio drama, news bulletin, weather report, interview) which the students listen to; they then respond to questions they hear on the tape using multiple-choice alternatives printed in an answer booklet. Reading comprehension was assessed by the *Test de lecture silencieuse* (developed in Manitoba), which involves responding to multiple-choice comprehension questions based on passages of text (of an expository or literary nature).

French speaking and writing skills were tested through *À vous la parole*, a French language evaluation unit developed for Saskatchewan. The theme of the grade 9 unit relates to fictitious summer employment projects for youths across Canada 15 years and older in two Francophone communities in Canada. The title "À vous la parole" was taken from a letter by a young Montréaler included in the booklet in which he claims that youths face discrimination in the job market and suggests that it is time for adults to "let us have our say" in decision-making that affects youth. The two projects relate to different interest areas. The writing tasks include a letter, a composition, an informal note addressed to peers, and a technical exercise (involving transforming point-form information into expository text). The oral tasks include a group discussion (among four students) and a simulated job interview.

The tasks were developed to reflect communicative functions thought to be relevant for each age group. At grade 9, for example, it was agreed that students should be able to talk to peers in an informal setting as well as conduct themselves in a relatively formal interview with an adult. Scoring categories, displayed in Table 1, reflect salient aspects of grammatical discourse, sociolinguistic and strategic competence areas.

A unique feature of the Saskatchewan French Language Evaluation Units (in this instance, *À vous la parole*) is that they are theme-related and interactional. The students spend up to five class periods throughout the week of the testing engaged with the materials, and the information included in the unit is intended to be stimulating and interesting to the students. In fact, *À vous la parole* was developed in consultation with target-aged students. Capturing the interest of students was considered to be an important factor in making the instruments truly interactive. By providing information on a topic of interest, more authentic participation is elicited from the students using the instruments (see Green and Lapkin, 1984; Swain, 1984).[4]

Method of Analysis

Assessing the French language skills of early and late immersion students involves comparing their test scores with each other, and with those of the Edmunston Francophone comparison students. Some data from one class of unilingual Québec Francophone students are also available. Statistical comparisons (using students as the units of analysis) are made using analysis of variance to determine where any significant differences among the groups may be found.

Grade 9 Student Characteristics

An analysis of responses to student questionnaires (the Second Language Student Survey) shows that in many respects the characteristics of students in both immersion programs are strikingly similar. There are some areas of difference, however, and these are described and discussed below after the similarities have been documented.

The student survey was administered to 210 early immersion and 181 late immersion students. The percentage of students sharing specific characteristics is provided in brackets throughout this section, with the first figure representing early immersion, and the second figure, late immersion. So, for example, when asked about the amount of time devoted to instruction in French at grade 9, 68.4 percent of the early immersion and 69.6 percent of the late immersion students replied that they spent about one-half of their time taking subjects in French. In the following section such percentages are indicated as follows (68.4/69.6). Most students (64.3/62.4) are taking two subjects in French, and some (28.1/24.9) are taking three. Almost all of the students (94.8/95.6) speak English at home most or all of the time, and most (67/62.4) never or hardly ever hear French used in their homes. Similarly, in most homes (84.2/76.7) a third language is never spoken.

Many students (47.1/40.9) indicate that they have spent at least one week in a French community. Of these, most (66.7/77.1) specify one or two weeks for their first such stay. The length of their second visit was generally four weeks or less (57.7/64.9). Otherwise, the students' use of French outside of school is minimal. Most (85.2/88.4) do not speak French regularly except in school, and most (91.9/96.1) have never attended a French summer camp.

Most students (69.1/70) have no occasion to use French at home with relatives, although some (25.2/22.2) report doing so sometimes. Similarly, most (86.1/82.3) say that they never or hardly ever speak French with friends outside of school. Most students (68.4/69.6) report reading no French books that are unrelated to school work; however, 29.7 percent early immersion and 29.8 percent late immersion students report reading one to four French books per month. Fewer students (15.2/12.7) choose French movies, and they do not subscribe to French magazines (98.1/97.2).

Students were asked to rate (on a scale of one to five) the importance of French *for* getting a job, for travel, for meeting French-speaking people, and for Canadian unity. A large majority (81/80.7) indicated that French was very important for getting a job. French was also generally thought to be important or very important for travel (76.2/69.6), for meeting Francophones (66.2/65), and for Canadian unity (65/59.1). Finally, when asked to comment on the intrinsic value of knowing French (i.e., whether it was "nice to know" French), the upper two scale points (important, very important) were chosen by most students (76.2/75.2). The students generally do not feel the need to identify with French-speaking people: most (62.2/58) say it "doesn't matter."

The students' patterns of French language use at school are quite uniform. Most (91/86.2) report using French most or all of the time with their teachers in class. Among themselves in class French is used at least half of the time by 53.1 percent of early immersion students and 45.9 percent of late immersion students. Most remaining students (27.3/32.6) say they use French among themselves in class sometimes. Between classes, most (82.3/88.4) report using French never or hardly ever.

Generally, most students express satisfaction with the type of program they have been enrolled in. At grade 9, about half (52.6/48.3) want at least 50 percent of their program to be in French. Most (73.7/72.4) feel the number of subjects they are currently taking in French is about right.

There are more boys in early immersion than in the late immersion program (40/33.7). More early immersion students (41.1/30.4) report having had a Francophone resident in their homes at one time or another. Early immersion students identify this person as a sibling (doubtless also an immersion student) in 65 percent of the cases and as another relative in 21.7 percent of the cases. For late immersion, 33.3 percent of the resident 'Francophones' are siblings, while 35.3 percent are other relatives.

The socioeconomic background of the two program groups differs in some respects. Early immersion students' parents have a somewhat higher level of education. More fathers (34.3/16.7) have university degrees, as do the mothers (24.6/17). More fathers (17.3/7.6) are professionals; more early immersion mothers (17.8/5.6) are semi-professionals. The other category in which differences appear is that of the semi-skilled: the percentage of fathers in this category is lower for early immersion (9.4) than for late immersion (16.9), and the same holds for mothers(4.3/18).

The early immersion students assess their French language skills more positively than do late immersion students. The relevant items are listed below, and the percentage of students choosing the response categories "with little difficulty" or "without any problem" (out of a possible five categories) is shown in brackets:

How well do you feel that you can understand a *French* newspaper or magazine article? (77.2/55.8)

How well do you feel that you can understand a *French TV* movie or news program? (55.8/32.1)

If you have to use French with a stranger, how well do you feel you can make yourself understood? (79.1/56.3)

In response to the first question (dealing with newspapers) 19.5 percent of the early immersion students chose the "with some difficulty" category, while 40.9 percent of the late immersion students did so.

A second set of related questions dealt with the students' perceived degree of comfort in using French. The percentage of students choosing 4 or 5 on a five-point scale (5 indicating the most positive assessment) is shown below for each of four dimensions:

"not at all comfortable . . . very comfortable" (50/31.5)

"not very confident . . . very confident" (42.6/29.3)

"not at all like myself . . . like my usual self" (57.4/39.3)

"not at all able to get my point across . . . very able to get my point across" (73.7/59.1)

Many students (44.8/60.8) report that they never or hardly ever use French with Francophones in the community; of these, more are late immersion than early immersion students. As far as the "reactive" use of French is concerned, when asked how they would respond if addressed in French by a stranger, early immersion students are more willing to answer in French than are late immersion students (94.3/84).

These findings on the patterns of French language use outside of school and on students' self-assessments of their second language skills are consistent with findings from other studies. Swain and Lapkin (1982:52)[1] found that early immersion students considered themselves more skilled in French than did late immersion students. Although he was not comparing early and late immersion students, Genesee (1978)[7] also found that generally immersion students do not seek out opportunities to use French outside school. The New Brunswick findings also suggest that the use of French outside school is more reactive (Genesee's term to refer to French language use initiated by others) than active; but they also show that within reactive situations, early immersion students are more ready to respond in French.

French Listening and Reading Comprehension Results

In the area of listening comprehension, early immersion students perform significantly better than late immersion students. Early immersion students perform as well as Edmundston Francophone comparison students, while late immersion students obtain a significantly lower score than their Francophone counterparts. In French reading comprehension no differences are found between early and late immersion students, and both groups obtain significantly lower scores than Edmundston Francophones. With reference to the Franco-Manitoban norms for this test, both New Brunswick immersion groups score as well as or better than 30 percent of the Manitoba Francophones on whom the test was normed.

French Speaking and Writing Results

Table 1 lists the various categories of the *À vous la parole* speaking and writing tests, and the manner of scoring them. On all the grammatical measures, there are differ-

Table 1

À vous la parole Scoring Categories used in New Brunswick

Area of Competence	Task	Measure	Scoring Method
Grammatical (written)	Composition	No. of sophisticated verbs	One point awarded for relatively infrequent verbs, i.e., those not appearing in *Le Français fondamental*
		No. of preposition errors	Count of incorrect uses and omissions
	Technical Exercise	No. of grammatical spelling errors	Count of all non-homophonous morphological errors (in a 50-word segment), i.e., those errors which 'sound wrong' if the text is read aloud (agreement and verb endings)
Grammatical (oral)	Pronunciation	Pronunciation rating	Four-point rating (0-3) based on accurate pronunciation of selected phonemes: u, y, a, e, r, p, t, k
Discourse (written)	Note	Basic task fulfillment	One point awarded for each of five points of information required in the task instructions
	Composition	Percentage of tense sequence errors	The number of erroneous verbs is divided by the total number of conjugated verbs
Discourse (oral)	Interview	Percentage of tense sequence errors	In the response to the interview question "As-tu déjà visité une autre communauté francophone? Peux-tu m'en parler?" the number of erroneous verbs is divided by the total number of conjugated verbs
Sociolinguistic (written)	Note and Letter	Appropriate opening	One point awarded for use of an appropriate opening phrase in each task
		Appropriate tu/vous	One point awarded for the appropriate use of tu/vous in the specific contexts (note and letter) established by the student
Strategic (oral)	Group Discussion	Communicative strategies	Three-point (0-2) rating reflecting the degree to which coping strategies are used to avoid abandoning the message

ences in favor of the Francophone comparison groups. There is only one difference between the early and late immersion groups and it is unexpected: late immersion students in New Brunswick obtained a better pronunciation rating than early immersion students.

In the discourse measures, early immersion students perform less well than the combined Francophone groups on the "basic task fulfillment" measure, and the written verb tense measure. On the oral verb tense measure, both Francophone groups obtain perfect or near-perfect scores, but the late immersion students make a significantly higher percentage of errors than the combined groups.

In the area of sociolinguistic competence, the students' ability to select appropriate phrases for the note and the letter was measured, and the socially appropriate use of the personal pronouns *tu* and *vous* was also assessed. There was no significant difference among the groups except in the use of *tu* and *vous* in the letter tasks where both immersion groups performed less well than the Francophone groups.

Strategic competence was measured in the group discussion task. The three New Brunswick groups (early, late and Francophone) do not differ statistically in their ratings, with the Francophones having virutally no communication difficulties. The early immersion group scored an average of 1.6 out of 2, reflecting immersion strength in this area.

Discussion

These results indicate that in New Brunswick, early and late immersion students differ considerably from their Francophone peers, especially in grammatical competence. This may also have an impact on the other areas of communicative competence, especially those in which grammatical knowledge comes into play. Thus, for example, although immersion and Francophone students perform similarly on three out of four sociolinguistic measures, immersion students are weaker in their ability to use *tu* and *vous* appropriately. This may reflect relative weakness in their grammatical knowledge of how *tu* and *vous* function as part of the personal pronoun system in French, or it may reflect the fact that immersion students have little opportunity to hear *tu* and *vous* used appropriately in varied communicative situations (see Swain and Lapkin, in press).[8] The pattern in other research studies on immersion performance (e.g., Lapkin and Swain, 1984a;[9] Lapkin, Swain, and Cummins, 1983[3]) supports the idea that deficits in the grammatical domain are related to weaknesses in performance in the other domains. Swain (in press)[10] has observed that immersion students "perform similarly to native speakers on those aspects of discourse and sociolinguistic competence which do not rely heavily on grammar for their realization." Improving grammatical competence appears to be the key to making progress in all areas of communicative competence. There is a danger that this will be interpreted to mean that more grammar and vocabulary drills should be added to the language arts curriculum. We are convinced, however, that if students are given an opportunity to interact in French in a wider variety of contexts (both oral and written), this will entail a greater productive use of grammatical rules and vocabulary items, thus having a positive impact on grammatical and other areas of communicative competence.

Looking more specifically at the relative effects of early and late immersion in New Brunswick, we found no significant differences between these groups on any French test, with the notable exception of listening comprehension where early immersion students outperformed late immersion students. To infer that the early immersion program could be supplanted by the late immersion alternative would be unfortunate, however. Even if the listening comprehension skills of late immersion students receive greater attention in the future, it is likely that important differences will remain between the two program groups.

Evidence of differences in the outcome of early and late French immersion programs comes from the view of students as expressed through a questionnaire designed primarily to elicit self-assessments of second language skills and information on patterns of French language use in and out of the school context. Early immersion students consistently rate their French skills higher than do late immersion students. Moreover, early immersion students report feeling more comfortable and confident in using French than do late immersion students. Finally, early immersion students are somewhat more willing to use French in the community, and are more likely to respond in French when addressed by a French-speaking person.

These findings appear to replicate those of other studies (e.g., Lapkin and Swain, 1984a).[9] The salient advantages of the early immersion program relate to French listening skills and the perceived degree of comfort, confidence and ability in French on the part of the students. Clearly, the late immersion program is also successful, producing students who achieve as well as their early immersion counterparts in most skill areas.

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Joie de vivre: A Dialogue on Co-curricular Activities

Raymond Lemoine and Janine Tougas

Superintendent-General's Warning:
Co-curricular activities have been certified as enjoyable and have led to an increased "joie de vivre" in immersion and core students.

In the great journalistic tradition, this article will attempt to answer the six basic questions: Who? What? Why? Where? When? and How? about co-curricular activities.

First, what is the definition of co-curricular activities and why should you, as an immersion parent (that's the "Who?") encourage them? Then, what is the definition of culture and why should cultural activities also be part of the agenda for immersion? Where, when and how do you implement these co-curricular and cultural activities? These last will be addressed in the final section.

Unlike the great journalists of tradition, we, the authors, have no intention of being objective, unobtrusive voices of authority. Co-curricular activities are everybody's business and there are no "authorities." We consider our personal and professional experiences as valid testimonies and include them in this article with no apologies.

But enough pre-ambling rambling! Let's get down to our co-curricular curriculum.

What Are Co-curricular Activities?

Co-curricular activities are all activities supportive of the regular school curriculum. They serve as enrichment for the child and need not be directly tied to the school program. They can be organized by the school, the parents, the community, or by the children themselves. They can become the prime motivating factor for acquiring a second language. A teacher's greatest daily challenge is to present material in an innovative and exciting manner. A child learns subject matter if it seems useful and interesting. This is especially true today when the teacher's competition is getting tougher and tougher. How can reading, 'riting and 'rithmetic compete with video, electronic games and rock stars?

French Immersion teachers appear to have an even greater challenge. Not only must they make the subject matter exciting and practical, but they must transmit it in a foreign language. Making it immediately useful provides a greater incentive for the child to learn the second language.

AUTHOR I (whom we will call 'Raymond' from now on) butts in with a true-to-life example:

"This is true in any endeavour. Incentive guarantees success. A few years ago, I spent a summer in Spain. During the spring preceding my trip, I took a Spanish course at a local community college. The eight weeks of formal language study in Spanish gave me a few one-liners which would help me on my trip. 'Which way to the bull ring?' and 'How much for the cheese sandwich?' were two of my best learned lines.

"After two days in Spain, I was tired of cheese sandwiches and 'Where's the bull ring?' proved to be useless when I realized that I wasn't much into contact sports!

"However, I was amazed at my tremendous progress in the language. My plunge into the Spanish environment (my immersion) had forced me to sink or swim. I had learned more Spanish during those first few days in Spain than I had during the eight weeks of formal language training at home. Going to Spain had been the initial incentive for learning another language, but being totally immersed in a Spanish environment was an even greater incentive.

"This eye-opening episode in my life confirmed my belief that one learns to communicate by communicating, not by analyzing and studying the language for its own sake. The time spent by the child acquiring a new language is very structured."

AUTHOR II (whom we will call 'Janine'): "So, how would one summarize this section, for the get-to-the-point reader?"

Raymond: "It seems vital that the child have access to co-curricular activities in French because this new language needs to be lived. A child's attitude towards the new language will ultimately determine how successful he will be in acquiring it. The importance of attitude has led parents and teachers to look for ways of encouraging positive feelings towards the second language. Field trips, exchanges, weekend camp-outs, cultural activities and performances have been added to the formal language curriculum in most schools. These 'add-ons' have made the learning of French more meaningful to the child.

"Such activities will be very helpful in the child's quest for fluency in the second language. These experiences will not only reinforce the 'academic' aspects of the language learning, they will foster creativity and spontaneity in language use. Consequently, the child's speaking becomes less artificial; ultimately, speaking French becomes as natural as breathing."

Janine: "I can hear parents asking, 'How can I help my child at home with his/her French? What can we do to expose our child to French during the summer months? Where can we go locally to give our child the chance to speak French?'"

Raymond: "I get your drift. How can the level of interest and stimulation be maintained outside the school? Let's leave these questions for later, in the section entitled 'Implementation,' and try to come to grips with that elusive word 'Culture,' that catch-all term that everyone defines in a different way. Let's start with an 'official' definition and work our way around to our own definition."

CULTURE (the dictionary definition): "The whole of the intellectual aspects of a civilization." OR "Knowledge enabling the development of one's critical sense; one's taste and one's judgment."

CULTURE (according to Herriot, a French politician and writer): "Culture is what's left after you've forgotten everything else."

Janine: "When I was eleven, I read an article on meal-time habits around the world. This article said that, in China, a good loud burp indicated that you'd enjoyed the food. This was considered a compliment to your host. Having shared this information with my family at the supper table, we five children proceeded to stage a burping contest to dramatize our appreciation of my mother's cooking.

"My mother, who is definitely a good sport, smiled for a while, but then labelled our display 'disgusting' and asked us to stop. Daniel, my four-year-old brother asked, 'How come it's disgusting when we do it, but it's okay for the Chinese?' My mother's answer: 'It's a different culture.'

"A few days later, my father, who is not a theatre buff, was persuaded to attend a play. His parting words to us were: 'I'm going to get cultured.' Daniel, who'd heard this word only once before, asked, 'Where's Dad going to learn how to burp?'"

Raymond: "Okay, then, what is your definition of Culture?"

Janine: "Culture is the way people live. Everything from burping to theatre. . ."

Raymond: "And dancing, and singing, and. . ."

Janine: "Watch that you're not getting 'folklore' and 'culture' confused. Folklore is the historical part of 'culture,' the way our ancestors used to live. This is interesting in itself and has certainly influenced the way we do things now."

Raymond: "In other words, 'culture' is always growing and changing. . . Folklore is yesterday; culture is today and tomorrow."

Janine: "Why is culture important to the immersion student? Let's answer that by considering the reasons given most frequently for learning a second language:

1. To get a better job;
2. To travel;
3. To communicate with and appreciate people of a different language and culture;
4. To appreciate the literature and other artistic products of that culture.

Except for the first one, these reasons show clearly the link between language and culture."

Raymond: "To get a better job? Why can't I just learn to speak French fluently and become prime minister without bothering about this culture business?"

Janine: "By learning the language, you've already opened the door to that culture! You've learned a second language to communicate with people who speak that language, but. . ."

Raymond: ". . . if I don't understand and appreciate their culture, I'm not really 'speaking their language!'"

Janine: "I had a friend who learned Cree in university. He was really pleased when this helped him get a job with the department of Northern Affairs. When he went to his first band meeting, the initial reaction was very favorable. However, he came out of the meeting confused and somewhat frustrated. He couldn't understand why the meeting had started so late, the long silences, or the rigid pecking order that seemed to exist. My friend realized that his knowledge of the language hadn't been enough."

Raymond: "I know what you mean. Although I'm always pleased to talk to people who've learned my language, I'm often dismayed at how uninformed they are on the realities of a French-Canadian outside of Québec."

Janine: "Yes, and it's often difficult to explain to someone what culture is. It's such a vast, intangible conglomeration of attitudes, feelings, historical background, etc. There is no 'fast-food' type of cultural outlet, no K-Tel speed-culture course!"

Raymond: "And whose culture are you talking about when you say 'French Culture?' Take the Franco-Manitoban as an example. The majority of French-speaking Manitobans are French Canadians whose ancestors are Québécois. Their families have been in Manitoba for 80 to 300 years. There is also a large French-speaking population with a Métis background, real pioneer stock! There are communities of people who immigrated from France in the last fifty years or so, and whose children were born in Canada. There is a small Belgian community which speaks French, but whose mother tongue is Flemish. And then there is also a small French-speaking Vietnamese community. How do you decide whose culture is important to the immersion student?"

Janine: "I'd say the one that is predominant in your geographical area, not exclusively, but first and foremost. For example, St. Boniface is a predominantly French-speaking area of greater Winnipeg. Despite this, school kids in some Core French programs in Winnipeg are still studying from text books which focus on life in France!"

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Raymond: "This reminds me of the summer I taught French in an adult education program. I was one of eight instructors, five were native Parisians, two were from Québec and then there was me, a local 'born-in-Manitoba-but-moved-to-Vancouver-ten-years-ago-and-fell-in-love-with-the-place-and-consequently-wouldn't-live-anywhere-else-in-the-world' true-blue Vancouverite.

"Our teaching team got along very well and all contributed equally in the development of a common philosophy and strategies in the teaching of French to adults. The only 'bone of contention' in our planning discussions was in the area of 'field trips' and 'cultural activities.' While my colleagues wanted to provide our students with the experience of eating croissants at the French Consulate, I proposed that we organize a tour of Maillardville, the suburban French-Canadian community a few miles east of Vancouver. Besides being of historical value, a visit to Maillardville would be more meaningful to our students' day-to-day reality than eating croissants.

"In the end, we arrived at a compromise; we ate croissants in Maillardville!"

It would be truer to the culture of Western French Canadians for immersion children to make and taste bannock (Indian and Métis bread), than to make any kind of French pastry such as chocolate éclairs.

Making the second language a living experience for the child and unifying Canada in providing an understanding of its people are two important criteria in deciding which culture to study. Learning French isn't going to unify Canada if the attitudes being transmitted in schools encourage the belief that the French spoken in Canada and the culture of French Canadians are second-rate. It's important for children to explore French communities throughout the world, and to study an acceptable international French language, but let's not automatically subscribe to the 'grass is always greener on the other side' philosophy.

Part of making the language a living experience also means allowing the immersion child to express him/herself culturally. Monique Nemni, an expert in the teaching of French as a second language at the University of Québec in Montréal, insists that the child express his/her own reality, develop critical judgment and creativity as part of learning French. This means allowing the child to be not only a consumer of culture, but a creator.

Implementation

The reality of every community, school, and family is different. No two have the same resources. It is therefore impossible to draft a list of made-to-measure activities that will be applicable to every situation. The best we can hope to do is to give you, the parents, some idea of how to evaluate your present resources and suggest possible activities.

Any skill is most readily acquired in a relaxed, accepting atmosphere. This is particularly true in the acquisition of a language. Any co-curricular activity should be conducted in an informal and non-threatening ambience. This positive tone will appeal to the child who will more readily want to participate. Care must be taken in the organization of the activity lest it lose its appeal by becoming 'too much like school.'

Remember: Resources are often in the eye of the beholder. Take time to re-investigate your environment.

The Community

The following questions may be a guide in making your inventory of resources in your community:

1. What French cultural activities (professional or amateur) are organized and what groups sponsor them (e.g., theatre, dance, music)?

2. Are there any particular celebrations or festivals organized by the French community in your area (e.g., la St-Jean Baptiste, Mardi Gras, la Ste-Catherine)?

3. What other French language organizations or institutions are there (e.g., newspapers, Caisses Populaires, Scouts, Guides, church groups, Knights of Columbus, schools)?

4. What services, businesses or government institutions cater to a French clientèle (e.g., restaurants, bakeries, corner stores, book stores, record stores)?

5. What other individuals in the community could act as resource people (e.g., retired people, craftspeople, French-speaking parents or relatives)?

6. What historical sites reflect the contributions of French Canadians in your community (e.g., cemetery, churches, museums)?

These questions can be applied to surrounding communities. All the major urban centres in Canada have French communities, and even in the remotest villages, one has a good chance of finding French-speaking inhabitants. These human resources are usually glad to co-operate with anyone who is interested in them.

Here is one person's experience in exploring her community's resources:

Madeleine, a Vancouver teacher, used her city's French community to provide her class with an 'out of classroom' experience. Even though this was a school-sponsored event, it made extensive use of parent volunteers. (It could also be adapted to any parent group willing to organize such a project.)

The grade three British Columbia Social Studies program suggests the study of a community. Since Vancouver has a large Chinese community, most grade three teachers use the city's Chinatown as a focal point.

Madeleine opted for Vancouver's French community. The class visited the French cultural centre where they were entertained by a chansonnier (folk-singer) while sipping chocolate milk. Then followed a visit to the French language weekly newspaper where they were shown the layout room. On a buddy system with a French-speaking host at a French private school, they ate, sang, danced and played together. They visited a home for the aged where they were entertained by French stories of the good old days. A Caisse Populaire stop-over, where the tellers counted out their money in French, was a special favorite. In a French Catholic parish, they sat in the old church and listened to a very proud old priest tell them about his church.

The three-day experience ended with an afternoon at the radio station where they recorded a half-hour documentary of this thrilling time. The program was aired the following Saturday morning to the delight of children and parents alike. All of the people involved reported that the endeavor had been extremely worthwhile. The children became aware of Vancouver's French community and found an immediate local use for their second language.

Your School

Make up a list of all non-academic and cultural activities offered by your child's school. Include the activities:

in the classroom (music, drama, art);
at noon, during recess, before or after school (sports, plays, choirs, clubs, concerts, special projects, workshops);
during special evening or weekend school-sponsored events;
of other special events (camps, student exchanges, field trips).

Most schools offer some of the above. Here are two examples of programs that have been very successful in increasing the child's fluency:

The bilingual English-French exchange's success is twofold. It permits the immersion child to be in contact with native-speaking peers and consequently improve his accent, grammar, and the range of topics he can talk about. The child's understanding and general attitudes toward the other language group also improve. If such an exchange is too much to undertake, a French camp is the next best thing.

If you can't bring the child to the French community, why not bring the French community to the child? Outdoor education programs have already become an integral part of the regular school programs in many school districts across Canada. The structure of the camp is already there. There is need only to staff these camps with French-speaking instructors and voilà! you've created a local French community. Children are plunged into a French environment similar to that of a French province or town. Of course, innovative, self-motivating schemes to encourage the children to socialize and communicate in French among themselves must still be brought into play.

So many of the cultural and co-curricular events in the school depend on the initiative and enthusiasm of the teacher. Given the close rapport that has been established between language proficiency, positive attitudes and co-curricular activities, it is important to underline the teacher's vital role.

A school board considers it essential to have automotive teachers who are mechanically inclined and home economics teachers who know the domestic arts. It should be considered just as indispensable for the immersion teacher to be 'culturally skilful' as well as a teacher of language.

Your Family

The family unit can usually take advantage of the community's resources more easily than a classful of students. The first step is to become aware of the opportunities available in your vicinity for family outings in French.

To supplement these family-oriented activities, here is a series of suggestions ranging from the exciting and ambitious to the trite and ridiculous:

Meal-times and car-rides seem to be times when the audience is most captive and receptive to ideas.

Set the scene: books, magazines, records, cassettes, television, posters, placemats, buttons, bookmarks, tee-shirts — all these will help to create a receptive climate. Many table games (equivalent to *Monopoly, Dealer's Choice, Trivial Pursuit,* to name but a few) are also available in French. Archie and Batman of comic book fame are also fluent in the other language. Your local video outlet would probably order French cartoons or feature films.

Traditional arts and crafts are fun if parent and child are so inclined. "How-to" manuals with descriptions of hundreds of items are available. Culinary experiments are interesting because children generally enjoy cooking and the whole family can test the results. Cookbooks with traditional recipes from different parts of Canada aren't difficult to find.

Here are some fun things to try:

- play the spoons to a French-Canadian reel;
- organize a barn dance with a French caller;
- organize a lip-synch contest to French rock songs or other songs that the children enjoy (let them practise first and then organize a concert or 'gong show' with parents and older friends);
- watch "La Soirée du Hockey" instead of "Hockey Night in Canada;"
- make puppets and put on a show for a French day-care centre or kindergarten.

Here is a list of traditional French-Canadian holidays and a few family celebration ideas:

L'Epluchette de Blé d'Inde (corn-husking bee) — usually occurs close to the end of August. Have a corn-on-the-cob party.

La Ste-Cathérine (old maid's holiday) — November 25. Try some taffy making.

Noel — Christmas. Go to Midnight Mass; have a Réveillon afterwards and open presents.

Mardi Gras — Shrove Tuesday, day before Ash Wednesday, the first day of Lent. Make costumes; have a costume party.

La St-Jean Baptiste (patron saint of French Canadians) — June 24. Have a campfire; sing songs.

Une Corvée — a bee. Have the children write a list of all the jobs there are to do in the house. Get everyone in the family to pick one out of a hat. Everyone hurries to get his job done and a picnic follows.

More Ideas

Pen Pals (letters, tapes or videos). Find a French pen pal for your child. If you and your pen pal's family have video equipment, produce a program complete with news, weather, sports, current events, interviews, and human-interest stories. The production crew will involve family and friends.

Scavenger and Treasure Hunts.

Car Games. "I Spy" in French; "Car Bingo" — the children make up identical Bingo cards with words (in French) of objects that they might see along the way (un chien, une maison blanche, un tracteur, etc.). Half the players take the left side of the road and the other half, the right side. The first team to see every object on their card and cross them out, wins.

Test the Parents Game. This is a good game for parents that are not fluent in French. The child makes labels for every object s/he can identify in one particular room in the house. S/he then proceeds to misplace these labels (placing "la chaise" on the television set, for example). The parent who has been out of the room returns and must replace all the labels on the right objects within a certain time limit. The child then corrects the mistakes and announces the number correct. Proceed to another room and continue as long as the child's vocabulary and the parent's patience hold out.

Invite the teacher or another interesting French-speaking person to supper.

Bizarre French Restaurant Game. Have the children invent a code menu in French. Each item on this menu corresponds to one item of the meal or of the place setting. For example, Bonbon Mr. T. might mean a fork; Cheveux rôtis, carrots; Soulier brûlé, a serviette, etc. The de-coder paper should be kept in the kitchen for the waiters' eyes only.

Every guest receives a menu and the children who have created the menu become the waiters. The guests order and the waiters write the orders down. If there are 15 items on the menu, the guests can only order 10 to maintain the suspense as to what will be served. The waiters bring what was ordered and the end result is that some people will be eating with their fingers, some won't have much to eat, some nothing to drink. Trading is permitted and being a good sport is compulsory. This can get as wild as you would like it to be. You can play this with spaghetti and no plates or with a given plate and "tamer" food. It's also a good outside event for neat types. Don't invite someone you want to impress to this meal!

Conclusion

The Canadian Parents for French organization is involved with the community, the school, and the family. The best resource people for more ideas on activities are other parents and other CPF groups. Consult the local, provincial, and national CPF publications for the latest on what's been tried and tested.

Regardless of what activity you choose, remember to take your own tastes into consideration, not only what you think your kids would like to do. Children are also a source of innovative ideas, why not consult them? One last rule of thumb: enjoy yourselves! Over-exerting yourselves at having a good time is not "joie de vivre!"

Teaching the Gifted in Immersion

Joan Sigler and Margaret Tourond

The focus of this article is on providing appropriate programming for gifted students in Early French Immersion (EFI) and in Late French Immersion (LFI) classes at the elementary level.

Challenging and exciting programs for the gifted can take many different directions. Many experts in gifted education have suggested basic components which should be included in a program for the gifted and have made curriculum suggestions for these students. But few of these have looked at the unique problems which face the teacher faced with gifted students in French immersion:

Is a special program for the gifted necessary in French immersion classes or is the double language arts component sufficient challenge?

If such a program is offered, how can it be made relevant to both French and English curricula?

Is a gifted program using a withdrawal approach or one using classroom enrichment better for a student in a French immersion program? If the latter is the choice, should the enrichment be done in the French or the English classroom or in both?

How can the curriculum be further compacted in immersion where the double language arts programs and all of the normal subjects and activities must be accomplished in the same number of hours as the regular English program?

What alternatives are helpful with the under-achieving gifted child in French immersion?

Are there suitable and challenging resources in French for gifted immersion students?

Is a Special Program for the Gifted Necessary in French Immersion?

Consider two common situations that arise in EFI classes:

Some children in a Grade 1 classroom have broken through into reading in French in early November and have reading comprehension skills at least at a Grade 2 level.

A few children in a grade 4 class are top-notch readers and are now able to write well-developed compositions which are reasonably error-free and of considerable depth of thought.

Their teachers either have to scramble to keep these children "busy" with more and longer assignments, essentially more of the same, OR they must face the problem of offering them a program which is qualitatively different from the regular program. Experts agree that intellectually gifted students learn more quickly and differently than normal students. Their intellectual ability to analyze and integrate concepts and ideas must be used in the school setting. Every gifted child not being challenged by fast-paced, in-depth discussions and assignments is an underachiever. Special programs to challenge the gifted are ESSENTIAL whether the class be English or French immersion.

Identification of the Gifted

Most Boards of Education have developed criteria for the identification of their gifted students. The process varies according to the age of the students. At the Primary level (K to 3), identification is usually informal. Teachers and parents identify children who have a good vocabulary, ask many questions, understand concepts easily, and who often seem to have nothing to do. These children are possible candidates for enrichment activities.

More formal identification of gifted students is usually undertaken at the Junior level (4 to 6). Screening procedures include measures of intelligence, achievement in French and in English, recommendations from parents and teachers, nomination by peers, and measures of creativity. Information from all these sources is compiled on a class record sheet, the criteria are applied, and a selection of students is made. Generally, children whose scores on a number of these measures are in the top two to five percent are identified for gifted programs suitable to their special abilities.

Programs for the Gifted in Two Elementary Schools

Le Phare (K to 6, EFI) and Stephen Leacock (K to 8, EFI, and 7 and 8, LFI), Immersion Centres are in suburban areas outside the greenbelt in the National Capital Region. A description of the programs for the gifted in each of these schools will illustrate some of the possibilities for qualitatively different programs in a French immersion setting.

Le Phare

Numerous and varied school-wide activities offered at Le Phare are intended to tap areas of interest and talent and to develop task commitment in all students including the gifted. Functions throughout the school year develop skills of social interaction and serious thinking and a sense of humor. These include Remembrance Day, Christmas, a winter Carnaval, career week, graduation, and bilingual exchanges and trips.

Musical talent can be fostered in Primary and Junior choirs, a recorder group, a string and wind ensemble, and by presentations at school assemblies by guest artists or by the students at concerts.

Sports and physical education play important roles in enhancing the child's self concept through skill development and team play, and cater to those children who may be physically advanced.

Reading is encouraged by membership in monthly book clubs in French (Arc-en-Ciel) and in English (Scholastic Book Club). Public speaking takes place at the class, grade, school and board levels in both French and English.

In the Primary grades, gifted children who have been identified by teachers and parents receive an enrichment program in a withdrawal period for about 30 minutes per week, to be followed up by the classroom teacher during the rest of the week. Units have included illustrating and dictating "mini-novels" and doing projects on subjects of interest.

The more formal program at the Junior level is based on the work of Joseph Renzulli (1980)[1] whose model for gifted education allows children to select areas of interest and to pursue them in depth. They are not locked into a year-long program but cycle in and out of the activities offered in the Resource Unit each term. The following alternatives were offered to Junior level gifted students at Le Phare in 1984-85:

	Grade 4	*Grade 5*	*Grade 6*
Term 1	Theme Study (Fr.)	Novel Writing (Fr.)	Word Processing (Eng.)
Term 2	Trade Offs (Eng. & Fr.)	Theme Study (Fr.)	Novel or Play Writing (Fr.)
Term 3	Novel Writing (Fr.)	Science Experiments (Eng. & Fr.)	Theme Study (Fr.)

Theme Study involves brainstorming to find subjects of high interest to the participants, followed by student development of questions at the higher levels of Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*: Analysis, Synthesis and Evaluation (Bloom, 1956).[2] This process results in a series of specific questions which can then be explored using the research question grid developed by Deen (1980).[3] The evaluation of these theme studies is based on the child's handling of the process and on the product as presented to his classmates.

Novel writing is introduced by a planning discussion of characters, setting (time and place), and a plot sequence. Notes on events to occur in each chapter are reviewed before the children begin to write the novel, chapter by chapter, alone or in pairs. As each chapter is completed, it is reread together and corrections are made. When it is finished, the novel is recopied and illustrated, a title page and an illustrated cover are added, and copies are made to be presented to the school librarian and to the authors. Evaluation of the novel writing unit is based on the child's development of an integrated plot and a further informal evaluation appears on the library card showing the number of children who eventually read the novel! The following year, children starting the novel writing unit look at which novels previously written by students have been most frequently read, and analyze the reasons for their popularity.

Word Processing on the computer is being taught for the first time to gifted students using the Bank Street Writer Program in English and the Gutenburg Junior Writing Program in French. This allows the children to edit and print out their creative writing products using the Graves Writing Program (1983).[4]

Trade-Offs is a series of videotapes and discussion questions on decision-making in various child-oriented situations. The children watch the short video and then participate in discussions on the possible decisions among the various alternatives.

Science experiments have been selected to develop an awareness of the physical laws in the environment, and the impact man can have by varying the conditions. A simple reporting format for recording observations and conclusions is used, though the main focus of evaluation is a mini science exhibit offering the children an opportunity to present an experiment of their choice.

Withdrawal programs for junior students have to be varied and should be changed periodically to renew the approach and to preserve excitement and enthusiasm. Classroom teachers should regularly provide more challenging activities for their gifted students in the subject areas.

Two important aspects of implementing a successful program for the gifted are: the problem of the underachieving gifted child and the problem of time and the curriculum content. Underachieving gifted students are usually aware that they are "different" and they react in various ways. They need to receive help with areas of weakness and most particularly, they need to be encouraged and challenged in their areas of strength. Reading and discussing such books as *TA for Kids* (Freed, 1977)[5] and *Mes Amis, Mon Jardin*[6] have had positive results with certain underachieving gifted children at Le Phare.

The classroom teacher's problem with withdrawal programming is often: "How can the time be spared when there are programs to be covered in language arts in French and English as well as maths, science, environmental studies, music and physical education?" Curriculum compacting is more difficult in EFI simply because there is so much more to do in the same amount of time. A gifted child whose achievement is average in a particular subject cannot spare the time for a withdrawal program. However, if this program is held out as a future possibility, children who have the potential *DO* put more effort into classroom work if they perceive the possible withdrawal activity as highly attractive.

Stephen Leacock Public School

Stephen Leacock has had a withdrawal type of program for the gifted for six years, but this year much of the work with gifted students is being done by classroom teachers in the regular classrooms. This change came as a result of an evaluation which parents and students completed at the end of the last school year which favored this approach over the withdrawal type. More planning time is required for teachers, and more help from parent volunteers and secondary school immersion students in a co-operative work project, but the air of excitement as a result of the changes has made the extra work and involvement well worth the effort!

When changing the program for the gifted, we kept in mind some basic facts about these students:

1. gifted students share some characteristics with all children;

2. gifted children show great variability in ability, interests and self-confidence; and

3. gifted children need early intervention by parents and teachers to nurture their gifts.

We wanted to provide more opportunities for gifted students to work in classrooms and yet continue to allow them to be challenged by more complex and advanced problems and assignments, and to move at their own pace using their special talents. Our program emphases have always reflected a desire to allow gifted students to engage in higher-level thinking processes and in creative activities, to assume responsibility for their own learning, and to demonstrate leadership by assisting with the learning of other students. Achieving these goals within the regular classroom was the challenge.

One distinct advantage of the EFI program over the LFI program is that it gives students much more exposure to French, allowing them to become more proficient in the language (Genesee, 1978).[7] This advantage applies to all students, but gifted students, because they learn more quickly, have additional time to perfect their language skills or to learn other skills. This "extra" time needs to be filled with options which, in either language, require reflective, critical and creative thinking opportunities beyond those demanded in the regular program. Students who enter the immersion program as LFI students (grade 7) also need some of these enrichment opportunities, but the compressed time available leaves less time for them.

Different options for the gifted are offered at the Primary, Junior and Intermediate levels. Although formal identification procedures are not undertaken until the end of grade 3, we are aware of the research that shows that the abilities of gifted students decline if they are not challenged and used. Primary students need an enrichment program as much as do Junior and Intermediate students.

The Primary Gifted Program is a lively one, thanks to our active and talented helpers, Stephen and Cindy, two secondary French immersion students assigned to us for two hours daily on their co-operative work program. They are helping to conduct three parts of the Primary Gifted Program. The first is a French drama program in which Stephen and Cindy help small groups from each primary class to write, practise and perform hand puppet or simple marionette plays for their classes. Because this is an open-ended activity, students can learn and perform at their own levels.

The second activity is a French creative writing program based on research conducted at Carleton University which shows that the best way to improve the quality of

children's writing is to encourage them to write frequently and extensively (Freedman *et al.*, 1983).[8] Students in grades 2 and 3 are introduced to an Ewok village and to a set of Ewok characters through presentations by Cindy and Stephen, who have planned a whole year of Ewok events to tell their correspondents about. (We didn't find a single child who was not familiar with Ewoks and with the film in which they appeared!) A promise was made that if students would write to an Ewok, an Ewok would write back to them. Students designed a postbox, received special Ewok stationery and created two Ewok houses.

The response was incredible! The chord touched in the children by the fantasy and by the surprise elements built into the project resulted in a flood of letters in French on a variety of topics. Teachers are seeing a great interest in new vocabulary and grammatical structures as the children write about what they are thinking, doing and wishing to their friends, the Ewoks. Stephen and Cindy were kept so busy answering letters that we had to add some older gifted students to help with the replies. They too found this a delightful correspondence. Grade 1 students will be included in this program when their French reading and writing skills are more advanced.

A third enrichment activity for Primary Gifted Students in both English and French is the Primary novel kit series. These kits contain one or more copies of a novel and challenging activity suggestions based on the higher thinking levels in Bloom's *Taxonomy of Educational Objectives*. Krashen suggests that French immersion works because it offers so much "comprehensible input" through the various subject areas (Krashen, 1984).[9] The novel kits are designed to add more of such input.

Results from the Primary Gifted Program are proving the truth of the statement made recently by an expert in education for the gifted:

> As we modify the curriculum for the gifted in response to their differences, we actually upgrade education for all students, since many practices for the gifted are in a lesser degree appropriate and helpful for other pupils (Sato, 1984).[10]

The Junior Gifted Program follows the direction of a well-known expert in gifted programming who said:

> If the program for the gifted uses a resource room . . . the most economical and effective approach is to build the curriculum of the special program upon what is taught in the regular classroom and extend it to higher, more complex levels. This requires more work in the planning stages but will result in a more efficient, co-ordinated program for the students (J. Maker, 1982).[11]

In our "new look," both classroom and withdrawal programming are used. Classroom teachers and the Resource Unit teacher plan topics or units of study within Carleton Board of Education curriculum guidelines, planning extensions or additions to the program for gifted students.

The Resource Unit Teacher is available to work with teachers in the classroom or with small groups in the Resource Unit, or to provide resources and materials needed for the topic. Extensions and additions to the topic can include work in language arts, (English and/or French), environmental studies, maths, art, computers, or the teaching or thinking skills, research methodology, or creativity training. A unit entitled *Noël en Espace* included the French and English teachers, the music teacher and the Resource Unit teacher in the planning stages, and touched on all the subjects of the curriculum. Individual and small-group work allowed gifted students to engage in challenging activities, and to provide leadership for such activities as debates between interplanetary groups, computer-assisted writing activities, and the planning and videotaping of a student-written Christmas play.

Although more planning time is needed for these interdisciplinary thematic units, the payoffs more than compensate. Because topics are carefully co-ordinated, students have a sense of the "whole" of a topic. More time is available to work on large- or small-group teaching or for student consultation. At the conclusion of one French-English interdisciplinary activity, the teacher of French said, "I cannot believe the increase in vocabulary and the improvement in comprehension that I saw as a result of this unit!" English-speaking children do come to school with an extensive "baggage of language;" we need to use that "baggage" in both languages. Thoughts are the same in both languages even if expressed differently; Michael Jackson is Michael Jackson in any language!

Students at the Intermediate level (7 and 8) are on a rotary system of 40-minute periods. Scheduling gifted students for a withdrawal-only type of program often proved to be a problem. This year the Gifted Program for grades 7 and 8 is a modified version of a program being used in the Toronto area. In a survey by the authors of this program, it was found that gifted students at intermediate and senior levels want more options within the regular classroom and a broader participation in specialized programs. They prefer enrichment options within the regular classroom if they are meaningful, realistic, and count for credit (Clifford, 1983).[12]

The same survey revealed that classroom teachers of the gifted want to be sure that the skills acquired in these programs are applied in the regular classroom. Teachers of the regular program not only wanted to learn more about and do more for gifted students, but they also wanted recognition for what they already do, and they want support to minimize the additional workload and the time required. These feelings were very evident in our own survey of classroom teachers when asking for ideas for Gifted Programs for this year.

One part of the program for gifted grade 7 and 8 students is the completion of two independent study projects each year, one in French and one in English. Students plan their projects with a teacher of their choice and it becomes part of the classroom requirements, with the understanding that work on it will replace some classroom work while the student is in the process of researching his/her topic. After the student and the teacher decide on a topic and its scope, the student completes an independent learning contract which states the project content, the method of handling it, the resources needed and the strategies to be used, the date of completion, and the criteria of evaluation to be applied. Meetings are held once a week during work on the project to discuss progress and problems. On completion of the project, the teacher evaluates the product and the student presents his project to the class or to a group of interested intermediate students.

Gifted students are deeply concerned about the future and, because they often move faster through the high school grades, they need information about a variety of careers to make wise choices. In response to these needs, a second part of the intermediate program for gifted students consists of monthly Careers Seminars. In these sessions, individual learning styles are analyzed and many career possibilities are examined and discussed. Career "experts" give presentations on the preparation, training and responsibilities of a career in their field and lead follow-up discussions with the students. Careers are chosen from a list suggested by the students.

A third component of the program is a monthly Issues Seminar. After the students have learned about an issue through reading or teacher presentations, an "expert" student leads discussions on that issue, usually a current local or world problem chosen from a list suggested by the students.

Intermediate students are responding enthusiastically to the challenge and opportunity to do what one expert in gifted education believes is the most important opportunity that we can offer gifted children: a chance to work on topics that they care about in an environment which encourages exploration of ideas and unanswered questions.

These are only some of the types of gifted programs that a French immersion school can offer, but the program at Stephen Leacock is characteristic of gifted students themselves: flexible, open-minded, and constantly seeking solutions to the problems and ways to improve what we do. We are happy with the growing co-operation between French and English sections and the interdisciplinary direction of the program. In a country which hopes to be truly bilingual, we believe that this is an important first step for a gifted program in an immersion school.

Good resources in French for gifted students are few and far between. We are constantly using existing resources in English and translating and adapting them in order to meet the needs of immersion students. There is a great need for more collaboration between publishers and French immersion teachers of the gifted to develop resource materials of excellent quality in French.

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French Immersion Students in Secondary and Post-Secondary Schools

Frances Morrison

Introduction

Since 1973, evaluations of programs in teaching French as a second language in the Ottawa-Carleton area have been carried out by the Research Centre of the Ottawa Board of Education through a series of annual contracts with the Ministry of Education of Ontario. In recent years these studies have emphasized various aspects of the progress of immersion students through high school.

The first large group of early-entry immersion students in the two public boards of the Ottawa-Carleton area entered the program in the fall of 1971. These students have been traced through the intervening years and are referred to as the K-71 cohort. Tests of proficiency in French were administered when those remaining in the program were in grades 8, 10 and 12. Another cohort which has also been tested and traced is the K-74 cohort, which had reached the grade 10 level by the 1984-85 school year. Longitudinal data collection of this kind is unusual in educational research, as is systematic replication with a second cohort of students in the same program.

In 1981, one part of the evaluation carried out under contract with the Ministry of Education of Ontario examined the French proficiency of immersion students. These included late-entry immersion students who had reached the grade 12 level, and a small group of early-entry students in grade 10 of a high school program in which several courses were offered in French. Also tested were former immersion students who had not continued in a program emphasizing French.

In 1982 the main emphasis of the contract with the Ministry of Education was a study at the grade 10 level of the French proficiency of early- and late-entry immersion students who were following a high school program emphasizing French. In addition, an attempt was made to develop tests or procedures to examine speaking and writing skills at this grade level.

A follow-up study of students who had experienced the immersion programs at the high school level was also begun, with particular attention to French language courses taken and to use of the second language in out-of-school situations. A similar study was also part of the 1984 contract, in addition to the measurement of French proficiency.

The 1983 contract with the Ontario Ministry of Education included as one of the major topics of investigation an examination of the differences in achievement of students taught in English and in French in several subject matter areas. Sufficient numbers of students were available to examine achievement in mathematics and geography in grade 9 and in history in grade 10.

Programs and Groups Studied

During kindergarten and grade 1, instruction is entirely in French for the early-entry immersion program in both the Ottawa and the Carleton Board of Education.

There is then a gradual increase in the time spent in English until by grade 6 about half the time is spent in each language. Late-entry programs in these boards begin in grade 6 in Ottawa and in grade 7 in Carleton, and students from both the early- and late-entry programs can attend one of several secondary schools offering "bilingual" programs.

By grade 12 the cumulative amount of time spent in French was close to 7000 hours for the kindergarten-entry or early French immersion (EFI) students in the two boards. At the high school level these students took at least ten courses in French, including subjects taught in French. For late-entry students (LFI) the total amount of time was about half as much ranging from 3000 to 4000 hours in the two boards. The courses taken in French varied from school to school and for individuals, but French language and literature were available at each grade level. Mathematics and history or geography were taught in grades 9 and 10, and other courses were available according to demand and the availability of teachers.

Other groups which have been the focus of study have included students from immersion programs who did not continue in the high school program, and a group in one Ottawa school who obtained four to eight credits in French from grade 9 to grade 12. In addition, three groups of graduates of high school programs have been traced during their first post-secondary year and asked to provide information about their educational and work experiences.

The tests used at the various grade levels were selected in order to examine the four skills of reading, writing, listening, and speaking in French. In some cases the same test was used over a period of years in order to measure growth, while in other instances tests were constructed locally, or tests with externally developed norms were used.

Results for the different skill areas and for subjects taught in French will be described separately. Differences between EFI and LFI groups and changes across grade levels will be reported where possible.

Listening Comprehension

For several years the IEA tests of French listening comprehension were used as measures of French proficiency for groups in both core and immersion French classes in the Ottawa-Carleton area. The version used with high school students in immersion classes is at the most difficult level of the series of tests in French as a second language developed by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (Carroll, 1975). In this test the student is required to select from pictured or written alternatives the correct answer to questions about recorded selections in French.

Listening comprehension and reading comprehension are the two skills usually classified as "receptive" skills in the evaluation of French proficiency. In learning a first or second language, the ability to comprehend what one hears is ordinarily the first step; children in early immersion can usually understand most of what the teacher says in French before they can use the language to communicate what they want to say. In 1980, studies were made of the intercorrelations of four tests of French proficiency, not including speaking skills. The correlations between listening and reading tests were of moderate size, the median values for several groups being between 0.50 and 0.60.

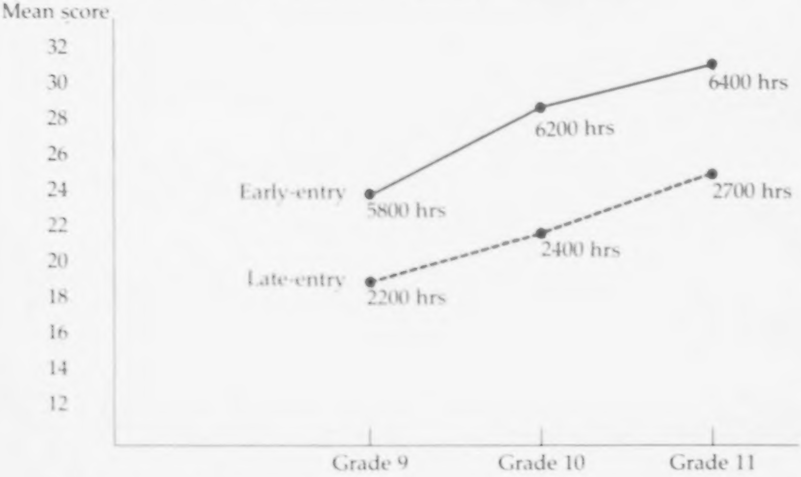
The *IEA IVS French Listening Comprehension Test* was administered in 1982 to bilingual high school students in grades 9 and 11 of the Ottawa and Carleton Boards of Education. In each case the early-entry group tested in 1982 had a higher mean score than the late-entry group at the same level. This difference was statistically significant in all but one case. Similar results were found for the tests given in the previous year.

For the late-entry groups, the results tended to be consistent when students at the same grade level in the same board were tested from year to year; the exceptions were two classes at the grade 10 level which had mean scores significantly different from at least one of the three or four others tested. There is not sufficient information to determine the reason for these differences.

Figure 1 shows graphically the combined results for 1978 through 1982 for students in grades 9 through 11 in early- and late-entry immersion classes in the Carleton board of Education.

Figure 1

IEA IVS French Listening Test Combined Results, Grades 9 to 11, Carleton, 1978 to 1982



It should be noted that Figure 1 shows cross-sectional data, which do not represent growth of individuals over a period of time but rather of students in classes at successive grade levels. It is likely that the growth pattern for individuals would be similar but that the changes for such groups over a period of time would be somewhat different, since some of the students with lower scores might not remain in the program. On the other hand, variations in the ability levels of groups tested in different years might also affect the comparability of the results and cause changes in either direction.

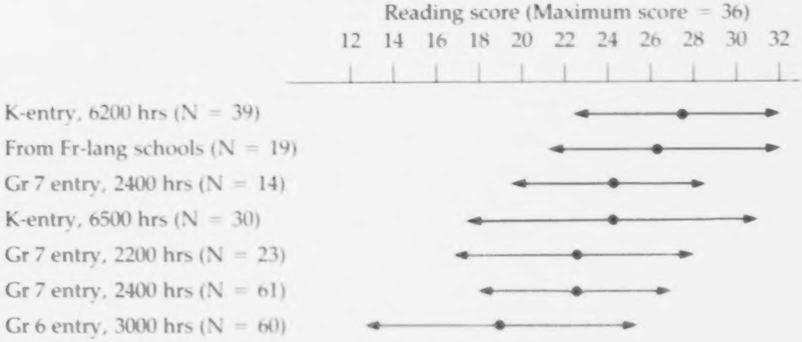
Tests of Reading

IEA test. The reading test (IVS) in the IEA series has also been used in measuring the French proficiency of immersion students at the secondary level. This test, which consists of 36 multiple-choice items, was used at the grade 10 level in 1981 with both early- and late-entry students and in several previous years with late-entry students. In each of the two boards involved, the early-entry group has significantly higher scores than the late-entry group.

Figure 2 shows the results for seven groups who took the test from 1978 to 1981. The average or mean score for the group is shown as a dot, while the ends of the arrows represent the estimated range of the middle two-thirds of the group. It will be seen that the kindergarten-entry groups and those who had previously attended a French-language school tended to have the highest scores. However, there were some atypical groups, and factors such as the size of the group and the range of achievement represented in it undoubtedly contributed to the order of the means.

Figure 2

IEA IVS Reading Test Results,
Ottawa and Carleton grade 10, 1978 to 1981



Note: N = the number of students tested.
Points indicate group means, while lines span the range of test scores.

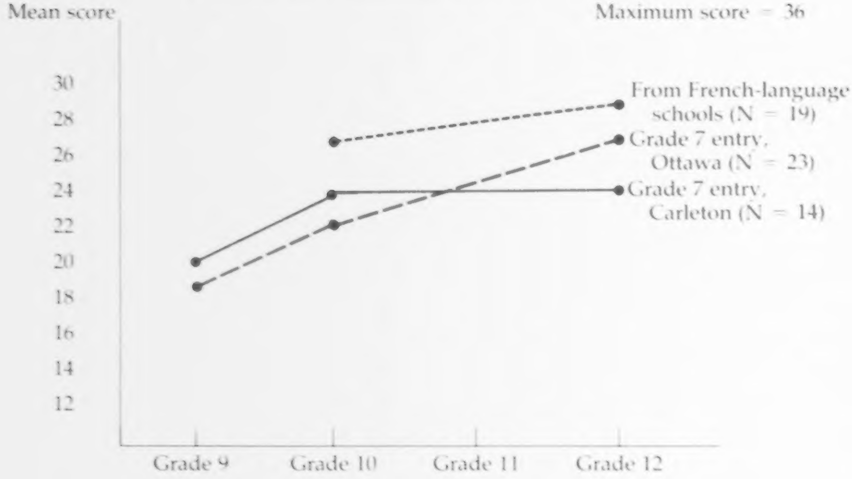
The same reading test was also administered to late-entry students taking programs emphasizing French in grades 9 and 12. For the same students tested at these grade levels and in grade 10, as well as for a small group of students who had attended French-language schools, Figure 3 shows the growth during the period from 1977 to 1980.

Québec tests. A second test used in 1981 was a test of reading and language usage, one of a series of tests developed for use with grade 10 (Secondaire IV) Francophone students in the Québec school system. The 60 items in the last section of this test were used with grade 10 immersion students in the Ottawa-Carleton region and dealt with vocabulary, paragraph completion, and identification of grammatical errors. The mean scores of the early-entry group were significantly higher than those of the late-entry group tested in 1981, but this was not true for those tested in the following year.

In addition to making comparisons possible between early- and late-entry groups, the Québec norms made it possible to compare the immersion students with a group of Francophones at the same grade level. The latter were perhaps slightly older because of differences in the age of admission to school in the two provinces. The mean scores of the early-entry students were at the 30th or 40th percentile of the three subtests used, while those for the late-entry groups ranged from the 10th to the 30th percentiles of the Francophone grade 10 norms.

Figure 3

IEA IVS French Reading Test Results For Three Bilingual-Program Groups Ottawa and Carleton, 1977 to 1980



Earlier groups of grade 10 late-entry students were given the grade 7 version of the Québec test (*Secondaire I*). The mean scores of the late-entry students were at the sixth stanine (60th to 75th percentile) on the Québec norms. For the groups of grade 8 early-entry students tested in 1979 and 1980 in the two boards, the mean scores were also at or close to the sixth stanine on the Francophone norms for students in grade 7 or *Secondaire I*.

Tests of Writing

Cloze test. A widely-used type of test which appears to measure both reading comprehension and some aspects of writing production is the cloze test, which requires the student to supply missing words in a continuous piece of prose. One such test is the *Test de mots à trouver, Niveau D*, a 25-minute test developed by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education for use with immersion classes. The method of scoring used was the exact-word procedure, which gives credit only for the exact word found in the original text.

At the grade 8 level there was the usual significant difference between the early- and late-entry immersion students on tests given in two successive years (1979 and 1980). In addition, the late-entry students tested in 1980 at the grade 10 level had scores which were similar to those of the grade 8 early-entry students. Scores for late-entry students tested at the grade 12 level in 1980 were higher than those of the grade 10 students, but not always significantly so, for the relatively small groups tested.

Free expression. As part of the 1982 contract with the Ministry, an investigation of free written expression in French was carried out with both primary- and late-entry students in the Ottawa and Carleton Boards of Education. Students were asked to write a letter to a school official about a proposed change in the school year involving rescheduling of holiday periods. The writing samples were rated holistically and on four analytic scales and, in addition, an extensive analysis of the errors in each sample was carried out. There was no significant difference between the early- and late-entry groups when the students from each board were considered separately. However, when the groups from the two boards were combined, the early-entry group had more scores in the higher range on the word choice scale than the late-entry group. Previous studies at the grade 8 level had shown more significant differences between these groups in the measures of writing used at that time.

The detailed error analysis also showed little difference between groups in the number or type of errors. However, the results of the study did show that about 20 percent of the total number of errors were in the verb category, often because of the influence of English forms or because of apparent limitations in vocabulary. Preposition errors were next in frequency, accounting for nearly 10 percent of the errors, and consisting mainly of the use of the incorrect preposition. These errors also tended to be influenced by English usage and accounted for over a third of the errors classed as anglicisms in a separate analysis.

Speaking

In the early evaluations of the French proficiency of students in immersion, relatively few attempts were made to measure speaking ability, mainly because of the difficulty in finding suitable instruments and the expense of conducting individual interviews. Later it was possible to arrange for small groups of students to take the Language Knowledge Examination (LKE 400B) of the Public Service Commission, a test which is no longer used by the Commission. The language interview used by the Foreign Service Institute of the United States was also tried out with both early- and late-entry students in grades 8, 11 and 12, and some more-structured tests were developed locally.

PSC tests. The version of the Public Service Commission test used with the students in bilingual high school programs classifies the successful candidates at either level B or level A. The speaking section is administered in a language laboratory, using recorded materials, and the responses are also recorded and analyzed later. The higher B level of oral expression indicates an ability to function best in a one-to-one situation and also to participate in meetings and discussion groups dealing with general or work-related topics. The A level is described as representing ability to deal with requests for information and to carry on conversations to a limited extent. Applicants for positions requiring the more advanced C level of competence were interviewed on an individual basis; it is not possible to determine whether any of the students who took the LKE 400B would have been classified at this level.

In the spring of 1982 it was possible to use this series of tests with a group of grade 10 students who had followed an early-entry immersion program in the elementary grades. Over 80 percent of the 48 students in this group reached the higher B level on the multiple-choice tests of writing and listening. The proportion classified at the B level in speaking was 38 percent, 44 percent reached the A level, and the remainder failed to achieve either level. In reading, 58 percent ended up in the B category and 38 percent in A.

The same series of tests had been taken in 1981 by a group of 36 grade 12 students who had been in a late-entry immersion program in the Ottawa-Carleton area. The average student in this group also reached the lower A level of linguistic competence on the speaking test, but a high proportion achieved the B level on the tests of reading, writing and listening.

It is not unexpected that the level of speaking skills is lower than that of other skill areas, and the test results described above are supported by the students' own self-assessment. In 1984, when grade 12 and grade 13 students were asked to rate their own ability to participate effectively in out-of-school situations requiring the use of French, about three quarters of them indicated that they felt confident about understanding written or spoken French. However, only about 40 percent felt that they could write or speak with confidence. (See the article by W. Russ McGillivray in this volume.)

FSI tests. The U.S. Foreign Service Institute (FSI) interview tests were used in 1982 with grade 12 students who had entered late immersion in grade 6 in Ottawa Board schools or grade 7 in Carleton Board schools. Level 3 on this test indicates an ability to participate in conversations on a variety of subjects, in practical or social situations. About 20 percent of the 60 students tested were classified as being at Level 3, while the typical student (70 percent of the group) was at Level 2 or 2+. A person at this level is described as being able to satisfy routine social and non-technical needs in the second language. These categories appear to be similar to the B and A levels, respectively, of the Canadian PSC test. (See the article by Clarence LeBlanc in this volume.)

As in the case of the grade 10 composition test described earlier, the errors in the recorded conversations of the grade 12 group were analyzed. About three out of four errors were classified as involving linguistic elements, especially verbs, articles, and prepositions. The remaining errors tended to involve a lack of appropriate vocabulary, occasionally to the extent of an ambiguous or incomprehensible response but more often involving anglicisms. A separate classification of errors identified as anglicisms included about 10 percent of the total number of errors, both because of limitations of vocabulary and interference from English.

Structured speaking test. Another speaking test was developed by the research team in order to assess the students' degree of competence with respect to the production of certain grammatical structures. In each of 22 items a question was asked in an attempt to elicit a specific structure in the response; only the structure itself was considered in the scoring. Various verb forms, pronouns, prepositions and negatives comprised the majority of the structures included. The test was administered to both early- and late-entry groups in grade 8 and grade 10. In both these grades, the early-entry group had a significantly higher mean score than the late-entry one. In addition, a significant increase was found between grade 8 and grade 10 for each of the two program groups.

On several specific items, however, the late-entry group at one or both grade levels did as well as or better than the early-entry group. This was true of the use of the future or 'futur proche' in one item, answered correctly by close to 50 percent of both groups at the grade 8 level and by slightly less than 60 percent of those in grade 10. In answer to the first question, "Quelle est la réponse que tu dois donner si on te demande ton âge?" more of the late-entry students than of the early-entry group used "J'ai . . ." rather than the incorrect "Je suis . . ."

On the other hand, less than 20 percent of the late-entry students at either grade level used the conditional in response to "Qu'est-ce que tu ferais . . .?" while in the early-entry groups, half of those in grade 8 and over 80 percent of the grade 10 students used this term correctly. The use of the pronouns 'y' and 'en' and of the subjunctive of 'être' appeared to be difficult for all groups.

Subjects Taught in French

Since immersion programs were first introduced, there has been concern about the appropriate subjects to be taught in French and about the possibility of poorer performance on the part of students taught a subject in their second language. There has been little or no evidence to date of any adverse effect on the achievement of students in the elementary grades. The question continues to be asked at the high school level, and the 1983 contract with the Ontario Ministry of Education included an examination of some aspects of the problem. The research study to be carried out included an examination of the differences in achievement of students taught in English and in French where suitable measures were available. An attempt was to be made to correct for aptitude differences between groups and to examine item analysis data for group differences.

Groups tested. It was found that in grades 9 and 10 in the Ottawa Board there were sizable groups taking mathematics, history and geography in French. Moreover, in these subject areas objective tests based on Ontario Ministry guidelines had already been developed for use in the Carleton Board of Education and could be made available for use in this study.

The grade 9 groups included in the study consisted of all advanced level (university stream) mathematics classes taught in English or French in three Ottawa bilingual high schools, and all advanced level geography classes in these schools and in one other where geography was being taught in French. At the grade 10 level the students tested consisted of those taking history at the advanced level in these four schools. From six to 11 classes taught in French and from 14 to 16 taught in English were included in the samples for the various subjects.

Instruments used. The tests developed for grades 9 and 10 of the Carleton Board of Education were modified somewhat for administration in the spring of 1983. For students instructed in French the test was administered in both languages, with half of the group taking the test first in English and the other half taking it first in French.

In each subject matter area, the group being instructed in French had higher mean scores on aptitude measures than the group instructed in English. The results on these aptitude tests were used to adjust statistically the results on the achievement tests for these differences in ability. A set of questionnaires was also used to obtain information and opinions from both teachers and students about certain aspects of the courses, especially as they related to the language of instruction.

Test Results. When comparisons were made between the results on the tests taken in the two languages by those students instructed in French, there were differences in the results for the various subjects tested. In mathematics the students obtained almost identical scores when the test was taken in French or in English, and there were no significant differences between the scores of the groups who took the French version first and those who had already taken it in English. In history, however, results for the French instruction group on the English version were significantly better than the results of the same group on the French version of the tests. When the order of administration was examined, it was found that the group of students who took the French version of the history test after they had already done it in English had significantly higher results than those who took it in French first. This comparison could not be made for geography, since the tests used in the two languages differed in content. It seems likely that the lower score of the French instruction group on the history test taken in French was largely due to vocabulary limitations, since the group had generally been able to answer questions better in

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English than in French. In general, the immersion students did as well as or better than the English program group in all subjects.

Questionnaire responses. The bilingual program groups taking mathematics in either English or French appeared to feel better prepared to continue in that subject than students who were taking this subject in English. In geography and history, on the other hand, about 80 percent of each group felt themselves to be at least adequately prepared to continue the study of these subjects. Only about a tenth of those taught mathematics in French thought they would have been better prepared if they had taken it in English, but for geography and history the proportion who felt this way represented about a quarter of the groups.

Most teachers tended to point out the value of history and geography as a means of developing facility in French. Students, however, tended to mention mathematics as easier to take in French because of the more limited vocabulary needed. They also pointed out that they had difficulty with specific vocabulary which they had met in one language and not the other, especially in mathematics and geography, although the results in mathematics do not bear this out.

Follow-up of Graduates

A high school "bilingual" program was initiated in Ottawa in the school year 1972-73, but the first group to have experienced the full late-entry immersion program, entering at the grade 6 level, reached grade 12 in 1979-80. A student taking at least 13 high school credits in French is entitled to the Ottawa Board's "Bilingual Certificate;" it is customary for these students to take four subjects in French in each of the first two years of high school, and two or three in each of grades 11 and 12.

In the spring of 1982, questionnaires were distributed by mail to all but four of the 270 students who had been registered in 1978-79 or 1979-80 in the grade 12 French language course offered as part of this "bilingual" program. The final total of 178 completed questionnaires represents a return rate of about 65 percent.

About 80 percent of the total group of respondents were studying at universities or community colleges. In first year university, nearly half of the first group and 30 percent of the second group had taken at least one French course. Of these, about 40 percent said they had experienced some difficulty in obtaining a suitable course. Two out of three of the respondents described experiences they had had since leaving school which had increased their proficiency in French. Over a quarter had used French in a work situation and about 15 percent had spent some time in a French-speaking area.

When asked to rate their proficiency in French, over two-thirds of the group indicated that they could cope confidently with the receptive use of French (listening and reading), and about one-third believed they could do so in writing and speaking, the productive aspects of the language. Between 20 and 25 percent of the respondents suggested that the bilingual program could be improved by offering a wider selection of courses and by making more provision for oral work or conversation within the classroom structure.

In the spring of 1984, this group of students was surveyed again and about 70 percent responded to another questionnaire. The students who had completed grade 13 in 1983 were also contacted a year later and asked to complete a questionnaire similar to that used with the earlier groups. Replies were received from 67 percent of the 153 bilingual-program graduates from three Ottawa high schools. Over half of these respondent groups had attended one of four universities (Carleton, Queen's, Ottawa and Waterloo) and 80 percent of the groups were still full-time students.

The 1983 graduate group indicated that the most important factors in their choice of a university were the good reputation of a particular program or the general academic reputation of the university. From 25 to 40 percent mentioned that financial considerations and the location of the university, as well as the existence of a job-oriented program, had been very important factors in their choice, and less than ten percent indicated that the existence of French-language facilities had been equally important.

Overview

Studies in the Ottawa and Carleton Boards of Education of the progress of students from early and late immersion programs during their high school years have concentrated on the examination of various aspects of French proficiency at the grade 10 and the grade 12 level. In both groups the receptive skills (listening and reading) tend to be stronger than the productive skills (speaking and writing).

The cumulative time in French instruction was close to 7000 hours for the group entering the program at the kindergarten level and about half as much for those starting immersion in grade 6 or 7. Although there continued to be significant differences between the groups on the proficiency measures used, by grade 12 it became more difficult to find measures sensitive enough to detect such differences.

A study of achievement in three subjects taught in French suggests that in history and geography some vocabulary limitations made it less possible for students to obtain as high a score on a multiple-choice test taken in French as they could in English. This difference was not found on the measure of mathematics achievement which was used. However, students frequently mentioned difficulty in using technical vocabulary in English when they had studied mathematics or geography in French.

Follow-up studies obtained information from several groups of students one to four years after completing grade 13. A high proportion of those who had followed a high school program emphasizing French were attending university. Although relatively few were majoring in French, about half had taken one or more courses in French at the post-secondary level, and some had had out-of-school experiences which had increased their command of the language. Most others, including those who had not had much recent exposure to French, hoped to take courses or find work in which they could use and improve their language skills.

Lettre à un ami ou à une amie anglophone d'immersion française

André Obadia

Cher ami ou chère amie,

Tu vas bientôt terminer tes études secondaires après plusieurs années en immersion française. Avant que tu ne te laisses engloutir par tes futures études ou ta future carrière, je voulais t'adresser ces mots afin que tu comprennes les sentiments personnels que j'éprouve à l'égard de ton "nouveau" bilinguisme.

Tes parents et tes professeurs t'ont procuré la connaissance d'une langue et d'une culture qui me sont chères. Leurs luttes et leurs efforts ont porté fruit et je sais que tu leur en es reconnaissant. Je ne puis cependant m'empêcher de t'ouvrir mon coeur pour t'exprimer ce que je ressens à l'égard de ton bilinguisme.

Il y a en moi un curieux mélange de joie et de crainte. J'ai eu souvent l'occasion de bavarder avec toi et l'éclat de tes yeux, lorsque tu me parlais en français, m'a convaincu que tu éprouvais manifestement du plaisir à t'exprimer si facilement dans ma langue.

Mais alors pourquoi cette crainte? Je vais essayer de te le dire. Ce n'est pas facile, tu sais.

Tout d'abord, je crois que tu as une sorte de mission à accomplir au Canada. Le mot "mission" a l'air un peu grave mais tu vas comprendre ce que je veux dire. Je t'imagine (est-ce que je me fais des illusions?) comme un "bâtisseur de ponts" entre Francophones et Anglophones du Canada. Si tu n'as pas encore visité le Québec et les autres provinces du Canada, dépêche-toi de le faire. Tu t'apercevras, si tu ne le sais déjà, qu'il y a des Francophones un peu partout dans notre pays. Les problèmes qu'ils doivent affronter, surtout lorsqu'ils sont en situation de langue minoritaire, sont nombreux. Mêle-toi un peu à eux, essaie de mieux les connaître tout en respectant leurs idées et leurs aspirations. Cela, d'ailleurs, te permettra d'améliorer ton français et de l'enrichir en même temps d'expressions nombreuses et . . . succulentes. Oui, je sais que tu es bilingue puisque je te parle comme si je parle à un francophone. Mais, entre nous, soyons modestes. On n'a jamais fini d'apprendre une langue, que ce soit la langue maternelle ou la langue seconde. Alors, s'il te plaît, ne t'isole pas dans ton bilinguisme. *Donne-lui un coeur et une âme.*

Le fait que tu risques de représenter pour moi un concurrent sur le marché bilingue du travail ne m'inquiète pas tellement. Je me suis assez plaint autrefois lorsque tu ne voulais pas apprendre le français. Maintenant que tu t'y mets sérieusement (tu en as mis du temps, dis donc), ce n'est pas moi qui vais te critiquer. Je ne voudrais pas cependant que tes connaissances linguistiques te servent uniquement à trouver un emploi intéressant au Canada ou ailleurs. Je ne voudrais pas non plus qu'elles te soient seulement utiles à te lancer en politique ou, comme disent tes parents, en plaisantant un peu, à devenir un jour "le premier ministre du Canada."

Ouvre ces portes économiques et politiques si tu le désires, mais n'oublie pas qu'il y en a une autre, très belle, qui t'attend. C'est celle d'une vision ouverte et respectueuse d'une société que tu peux transformer toi, en tant qu'individu. Tu fais partie d'une nouvelle génération de Canadiens bilingues dont le nombre grossit tous les jours et je suis heureux de le constater. Ta vision de la société doit aussi dépasser le cadre du bilinguisme officiel du Canada, important pour nous deux bien sûr, mais qui risquerait de devenir quelque peu étroit si nous oubliions les autres langues et les autres cultures qui existent dans notre pays. Nous sommes, je crois, en voie de gagner la bataille du bilinguisme au Canada, ne devrions-nous pas déjà penser à celle du plurilinguisme? Ou du moins à une vision plus cosmique de notre société. Citoyens canadiens, bien sûr, mais pourquoi pas aussi "citoyens du monde?"

Je suis content de voir que nous allons enfin pouvoir dialoguer entre amis. Des amis qui se comprennent à demi-mots (en anglaise ou en français) et qui se respectent mutuellement.

Je m'inquiète à tort sans doute mais j'ai confiance en toi.

Un ami francophone,

André

Letter to an Anglophone Friend in Immersion

(translated for parents)

André Obadia

Dear Friend,

You are about to finish your secondary schooling after years in French immersion. Before you become buried in your future studies or in your work, I would like to write you this letter so that you may understand my personal thoughts about your "new" bilingualism.

Your parents and your teachers have given you the knowledge of a language and a culture that are very dear to me. Their struggles and their work have borne fruit and I know that you are grateful to them. I feel that I must pass on to you my heartfelt feelings about your bilingualism.

I feel a strange mixture of joy and apprehension. I have often had opportunities to chat with you and the sparkle in your eyes when you spoke to me in French convinced me that you obviously felt pleased to communicate so easily in my language.

And so, why this fear? I shall try to explain it, but it's not easy.

First of all, I believe that you have a kind of mission to carry out in Canada. The word "mission" may seem a bit serious but perhaps I can explain what I mean. I see you (perhaps it's a dream), as a "builder of bridges" between Francophones and Anglophones in Canada. If you haven't been to Québec or to other provinces of Canada, go as soon as you can. You will notice, if you don't already know it, that there are Francophones almost everywhere in our country. The problems that they must face are numerous, especially in a minority-language situation. Mix with them; try to understand their ideas and their hopes. In doing so you will also improve and enrich your French with many expressions, some of them delightful! Oh yes, I know that you are bilingual because I speak to you as I would to another Francophone, but just between ourselves, let's be a bit modest! You never do completely learn a language, whether it be your own or a second language. So, please, use your bilingualism. *Give it a heart and a soul!*

The fact that you may become my competitor in the bilingual job market doesn't worry me greatly. I used to complain when you didn't want to learn French and now that you are doing it so well (it took you long enough to do it), I'm not likely to criticize you. I hope, however, that your linguistic ability will mean more than just an interesting job in Canada or elsewhere. I also wouldn't want it to be used just to launch you into politics, or, as your parents say, only half-jokingly, to someday become Prime Minister!

Certainly these economic and political opportunities are now open to you, if you wish, but another and nobler goal is there as well. It is an open and respecting concept of society, one that you as an individual can help bring about. You are a member of a new generation of bilingual Canadians whose numbers, I am happy to say, are growing every day. Your vision of society must go beyond the notion of official bilingualism, important as that is for both of us. Bilingualism may be too narrow if it leaves out the other languages and cultures that make up our country. On the verge of winning the battle for bilingualism, should we not now look forward to multilingualism, or at least to a broader concept of society: Citizens of Canada, of course, but why not also "Citizens of the World?"

I am happy to see that at last we are going to be able to communiate as friends. Friends who understand each other intuitively (in English or French) and who have mutual respect for each other.

I probably shouldn't worry about this because, after all, I trust you!

A Francophone friend,

André

Senior Students and French — How Do They Rate Themselves?

W. Russ McGillivray

The role of parents in the immersion phenomenon is amply illustrated in a number of articles in this book. In most cases, students had very little to say about their French course; parents decided for them. In an attempt to find out how these students nearing the end of their secondary school grades feel about what was done to them, I sent a short questionnaire to 45 secondary schools in eight provinces that, according to the Canadian Parents for French *Immersion Registry for 1984*, should have had graduating French immersion students. The questionnaire asked the students which French program they had been in, what they thought of it, how they rated themselves in French, and what their plans were for post-secondary education or work.

Students from 31 schools completed and returned the questionnaires, representing 23 school boards in eight provinces. (Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the Territories do not as yet have graduating immersion students.) Principals from three other schools responded that they did not wish to participate and the remainder did not reply. Several, who did have students complete the questionnaire, apologized that the students completing the questionnaire were not graduating students because the school had been unable to offer any special options to the senior students and therefore had used students in lower grades who were still in the immersion program. The final sample (Table 1) is not quite what I had hoped, but it is a representative sample of senior secondary students who have been in some form of immersion or other special French program. In addition, 132 grade 11 and 12 core French students replied, and these formed a useful comparison group. I was once again reminded of the educational complexity of Canada, not only in the variety of French second language programs, but also in the difficulty in pinning down the term "graduate," since that means grade 11 in Québec, and grade 12 in other provinces, except Ontario where it means grade 13. The survey was taken in January, 1985.

Table 1

Sample of Immersion Students Used in Survey

	Gr. 10	Gr. 11	Gr. 12	Gr. 13	Totals
Male	67	76	86	86	315
Female	88	135	172	143	538
Totals	155	211	258	229	853

Thirty-five percent of these students were early immersion graduates, 56 percent were from late immersion and 9 percent had been in bilingual, extended or Francophone classes for at least part of their schooling. No obvious differences of attitude or aspirations were found among these groups and they will be referred to as the immersion students. The core students were nearly all grade 12 with a few grade 11 and they will be treated as the core students without differentiation.

A likely explanation for the predominance of girls in the immersion group is that French and social studies, which are the common secondary credits offered in senior grades to immersion students, are still considered by some to be more suitable for girls, whereas the boys prefer to take mathematics and sciences, subjects not frequently offered in French at the senior grade levels. Obviously, male immersion students must be convinced of the ultimate value of bilingualism in their futures, and schools must provide a wider choice of options in the senior grades to keep more students of both sexes in the immersion stream.

Students were asked to rate their elementary and secondary French programs on a Three-point scale, excellent, good and poor (Table 2). A number of students objected to the limitation of the scale and also to the requirement of classifying into one category their whole elementary or secondary programs. Several wrote that some grades and teachers were much better or worse than others and that checking one rating would be misleading.

Table 2

Rating of French Program by Immersion Students

Program		Excellent	Good	Poor
Elementary	Gr. 12 & 13	37.3%	45.2%	17.5%
	Gr. 11	37.6%	47.9%	14.4%
	Gr. 10	22.1%	60.7%	17.2%
Secondary	Gr. 12 & 13	14.2%	76.6%	8.2%
	Gr. 11	24.5%	68.3%	7.2%
	Gr. 10	27.3%	67.5%	5.2%

Relatively few suggestions for the improvement of the elementary programs were made, but some criticized the repetition, the boring reading material, and the extra homework; and a large number suggested more exchanges with French-speaking students. Although few students rated their secondary programs as "Poor," the criticisms were fairly strong and consistent: the small choice of options; the poor quality of teaching in some subjects; the lack of resource material in French; the lack of opportunities to speak and write French in meaningful situations; the lower marks resulting from taking subjects in French; and the extra work required. Bilingual exchanges were again cited as among the best experiences of their school life.

The 132 core French students also responded to these questions and their ratings are shown in Table 3. Their suggestions for improvement were quite consistent: more time, earlier start, more useful material, and more interesting (less boring) programs and teachers.

Table 3

Rating of French Program by Core French Students

Program	Excellent	Good	Poor
Elementary	20.0%	51.2%	28.8%
Secondary	12.1%	84.1%	3.8%

The students were asked which French program they would recommend to parents of young children if early and late immersion and core were all available. Table 4 shows the recommendations of immersion and core groups.

Many students in late immersion wrote that their program had been very difficult and that they believe an earlier start would have been better. The CPF Gallup Poll

Table 4

Programs Recommended by Immersion and Core Students

Student Groups	Early Immersion	Late Immersion	Core
Immersion	80.3%	22.8%	1.7%
Core	56.9%	26.9%	16.2%

conducted in 1984 showed that about 40 percent of parents also felt that the early beginning was better, but 30 percent still preferred the core program and believed that it could produce bilingual graduates. Note that very few students recommended the core program.

Students were asked to evaluate their French competence in the language skill areas on a three-point scale. Once again a few students found this very restrictive and wrote some very perceptive comments and questions. Their self-rating, they said, would depend upon the context. It would depend upon the nature of the conversation or text, and upon the accent of the speaker or the level of language of the written material. Both immersion and core students also reiterated the complaint that they had few opportunities to speak or write French in secondary school, and several said that they felt sure their abilities could be quickly improved given a need to use the language. Table 5 summarizes the self-rating of their French language skills by the immersion students and Table 6 gives the ratings of the core program students.

Two core program students did not rate their abilities because they felt that their skills would be so low in comparison with the immersion program students in their school, the ratings would be meaningless. The figures in Table 6 indicate the

Table 5

Immersion Students' Rating of their French Skills

		Excellent	Good	Poor
Listening	Gr. 10	35.9%	53.2%	10.9%
	Gr. 11	48.8%	48.4%	2.8%
	Gr. 12	47.4%	50.4%	2.3%
	Gr. 13	75.9%	23.1%	1.0%
Reading	Gr. 10	28.9%	65.1%	5.9%
	Gr. 11	35.4%	62.1%	2.4%
	Gr. 12	30.8%	68.1%	1.1%
	Gr. 13	71.6%	27.5%	0.9%
Writing	Gr. 10	7.1%	61.1%	31.8%
	Gr. 11	7.6%	63.3%	29.1%
	Gr. 12	8.6%	77.8%	13.6%
	Gr. 13	32.3%	61.6%	6.1%
Speaking	Gr. 10	15.1%	67.3%	17.6%
	Gr. 11	23.8%	60.9%	15.2%
	Gr. 12	16.3%	74.7%	8.9%
	Gr. 13	37.1%	54.1%	8.7%

Table 6
Core French Students' Rating of their French Skills

	Excellent	Good	Poor
Listening	13.3%	51.6%	35.1%
Reading	12.5%	82.0%	5.5%
Writing	0.8%	46.1%	53.1%
Speaking	4.7%	50.8%	44.5%

emphasis on reading in the core program and the consequent lack of time devoted to writing and speaking. (See the article by LeBlanc in this volume.)

The immersion students' estimation of their French language skills is borne out by research which shows their very superior ability in the receptive skills (listening and reading) relative to their somewhat inferior ability in the productive skills (writing and speaking; see the article by Morrison in this volume.) With some exceptions, the figures in Table 5 show the increasing confidence in capabilities at higher grade levels. Grade 13 students in Ontario who had remained in the program and therefore had more exposure to French than those in lower grades, or than their colleagues who had dropped out of the program, were the most positive about their language skills. Their confidence was confirmed in a separate survey of 200 grade 13 immersion students in the Ottawa-Carleton area by the author. When asked if they could work in French, not one said " No;" 40 percent said they could do so easily, and 60 percent felt that they could do so with some initial difficulty.

When asked about their plans for after high school, 89.4 percent of the grade 12 and 13 students said that they would be attending university, 4.1 percent indicated that they would be working, and 6.5 percent checked community college as their destination. This last figure was higher when the grade 11 students were included because nearly all students in Québec continue at college (CEGEP), but undoubtedly many of them would plan to go on to university as well.

In the Ottawa-Carleton survey of grade 13 students, 89 percent said that universities have moderately, or very, important roles in helping students to become bilingual, but only 58 percent rated the French program at university as moderately, or very, important in their selection of a university. Much more importance was given to the excellence of the program in which they were interested, to financial considerations, and to the advice of family and friends. Nevertheless, 30 percent of the group (60 students) chose a bilingual university (the University of Ottawa) as their likely post-secondary institution.

When asked if they would be taking a French language course at university or college, 60.4 percent of the total group, immersion and core, said that they planned to do so, but, as Table 7 shows, there was more variation when they were asked about taking another subject in French if it were available.

Virtually all of the grade 13 students in the survey were still in the immersion program and most were taking a subject in French. Probably,their confidence in their ability to take subjects in French at the post-secondary level is a direct result of their proven success at the senior secondary level. Unfortunately, very few schools seem able to offer a range of options to immersion students at senior grade levels. Many students commented that they would be studying mathematics or science at university, but that these would be too difficult to do in French. Those who had succeeded in doing these subjects in French in senior high school grades did not

Table 7
Students Interested in Taking a Subject in French at the Post-Secondary Level

Program		Yes	No
Immersion	Grade 13	62.4%	37.6%
	Grade 12	48.4%	51.6%
	Grade 11	48.8%	51.2%
	Grade 10	51.4%	48.6%
Core		16.8%	83.2%

have similar doubts. Unless immersion continues to the end of secondary school, its continuation by the students at post-secondary institutions will be unlikely.

Nevertheless, most immersion students are positive about their experience and, in the whole sample, only three students wrote anti-French comments or indicated complete dissatisfaction with their achievements. In the Ottawa-Carleton survey, 95 percent of the grade 13 students said that French would be moderately, or very, important in their future employment, a result that should make their parents happy because that was the principal reason for enrolling them in immersion. Students also value the cultural and personal benefits of bilingualism for social contacts and travel. They seem to have accepted the bilingual reality of Canada and the value of being bilingual for working and living in Canada in the future.

Judging from the results of this survey, I am convinced that immersion graduates can face this bilingual future with confidence.

The Role of the Bilingual Universities

Philippe Garigue

The first bilingual university in Ontario was the then Catholic University of Ottawa which was founded in 1848. It remained the only bilingual university until very recently. Laurentian University at Sudbury with its affiliated colleges, was founded in 1960, and Glendon College at York University in Toronto in 1963. More recently, the Royal Military College at Kingston has offered a number of courses in French.

Logically, the two largest bilingual universities, Laurentian and Ottawa (now no longer Catholic), serve the north and east of the province where the Francophone population is concentrated. Glendon is the only bilingual university college directly serving southern and western Ontario, and of course, R.M.C. serves all of Canada.

Thus, there are two different kinds of bilingual university programs in Ontario:

a) The French programs at the University of Ottawa and at Laurentian were born out of the need to provide a university education for Franco-Ontarians. But, although the French-speaking population of Ontario is concentrated in the north and east, there have never been enough students, even in Ottawa, to sustain a unilingual French university as in Québec or New Brunswick. Of necessity, Franco-Ontarian university education had to be given in bilingual universities, since otherwise it would not have been economically viable. These two universities must cater to both linguistic groups within the resources available. Although they are "bilingual," the students are usually registered in one or the other language and rarely cross the language barrier, although a good knowledge of both languages is required. This type of organization is called "institutional bilingualism." R.M.C. also offers French courses to Francophones and to Anglophones, although the choice is more limited.

b) Glendon College of York University was created on an integrated concept of bilingualism because it was meant to serve those of both mother tongues who wished to study in both languages. This is achieved through programs with courses in both languages so that students may move from one language to the other. This approach has been called "individual bilingualism."

These bilingual universities may be differentiated from other universities which give French language courses through their French departments or occasionally, courses in French in other departments such as history, psychology, philosophy or journalism, if there is an interest and staff available. Because of the increasing demand for bilingual education, a number of universities has offered a few courses in several subject disciplines, which are open to students of either language if they are capable. The choice of these single courses is limited and they are not organized within bilingual programs. They do help to maintain or develop some linguistic ability, but given the limited number of courses offered, they are of interest only to a small number of students.

These universities are not recognized as bilingual and do not receive special federal or provincial grants for the additional costs involved. These extra costs must be absorbed by the university and will make such offerings too expensive to expand. The bilingual universities receive special minority language and second language grants which enable them to provide a wide range of courses and extra activities. In

Ontario they also receive grants from the Council of Franco-Ontarian Education for the creation of new courses and programs in French. Because of these grants, the bilingual universities can provide more than just instruction in French. They are also centres of cultural activities and are leading elements in the development of bilingualism in Ontario and in the rest of Canada.

The bilingual universities exemplify the nature of bilingualism itself. A truly bilingual experience is culturally enriching and educationally broadening but only if it is intensive enough. It must result in a level of competence in both languages so that graduates can live and work in both. Until recently, to be bilingual meant knowing enough of the other official language to be able to communicate on a social or business level. What is required now is a capacity to operate fully in both languages, so that for all practical purposes, the person is able to function in a wide range of activities and in either language group in a way that makes him or her an accepted member of that group. This level of bilingualism is required for those who want to become the political, administrative or business leaders of Canada.

Previously, only Francophones could aspire to achieve this kind of bilingual capability because they live in a Francophone environment but within the Anglophone majority of Canada and North America, and thus they are required to learn English and something of English culture. Most English-speaking students, on the other hand, were ill-prepared to study in French at the university level, but today the development of immersion programs has changed this. The bilingual universities are open to these immersion graduates and they can provide them with complete bilingual programs rather than one or two courses in a few subject disciplines. Only in the bilingual universities can Francophone and Anglophone students meet as equals and interact to create the new bilingual Canadians that we need, because only in such an ambience can both groups feel secure in their cultural and linguistic identities while learning to appreciate those of the other group.

This equality of the two languages and cultures is the guiding principle behind Glendon College and provides the best environment for the development of true bilingualism. Traditionally this duality was maintained by creating parallel programs for each language, that is by institutional bilingualism. At Glendon, bilingualism is operational within a single program, so that students can learn their subjects in both languages, moving from a course in one language to another course in the other language.

To achieve this ambitious objective as quickly as possible and yet keep Glendon cost-effective, the college has had to make some compromises. It has not been possible to offer the same number of courses in French as in English in all programs, but if the present rate of growth is maintained for another three or four years, the ideal will become the reality.

Bilingual education, according to the Glendon model, is a high-intensity, high-cost education. There are the added costs of teaching in two languages with a competent bilingual faculty and support staff. There is the need to diversify programs so that there is no duplication in the two streams. There is the cost of maintaining small class sizes so as to achieve the maximum linguistic exposure. Bilingual education, to be most beneficial, must also provide cultural activities for students of both languages.

The mandate of Glendon College is, therefore, a rather complex one: to provide French-speaking and English-speaking students with a wide range of high-quality educational services in both languages, while giving cultural support to students in both cultures. To carry out its task, Glendon has structured its programs and its activities to achieve a new type of educational goal: to develop linguistic and other skills to make students truly competent in a bilingual Canada and a multilingual world.

This has meant an intensive study of second language teaching of French and English so as to bring students to the level of ability at which they can follow courses and benefit from cultural activities in both languages. Thus, there are many second language programs in both languages designed for students who arrive at Glendon without adequate knowledge of both languages. These courses are credit courses, differing from courses in "second language" training in other bilingual universities where students normally are required to take makeup courses without credit.

At the same time that students are receiving their linguistic training, they follow courses in subject disciplines. These courses, in either English or French, are arranged so that a student will gradually move from one language to the other. These parallel courses are limited to introductory courses and to a few basic ones. There is still a program entirely in English but this is to be phased out as more and more students select the bilingual program, and space limitations require that some courses be cut.

There are, in 1984-85, close to 2,000 students at Glendon, 1400 of whom are in the bilingual stream studying in 15 different programs. These range from philosophy to computers and include such subjects as mathematics, international relations, natural science and women's studies. The concentration of studies ranges from a general liberal arts B.A. to Honors majors in about 12 areas and in such professional studies as translation.

For some people bilingual competence is a sort of insurance. It may help them to get a better job. But this level of bilingualism would not justify the creation of more institutions like Glendon.

If this is all that is required, probably the unilingual English universities can provide it through their French departments or by offering a few courses in French. Institutions like Glendon are required because of the perception of an increasing number of Canadians that true bilingualism is required to maintain and increase Canada's activities in national and international affairs, particularly in international trade on which Canada depends. The highest priority for Canada is to have professionals in many fields who can live and work in both languages. This is not simply a question of personal employment opportunities and greater job satisfaction; it is a national requirement. French and English are no longer only languages of specific Canadian communities, Québec or Victoria; they are now languages which cross community boundaries and which are used to communicate between cities, provinces, countries and continents.

Bilingualism must now mean the ability actually to use the two languages, to operate successfully in the various levels of industrial, commercial and governmental organizations in the local community, nationally or internationally. Being bilingual means participating actively in a pluralistic world in which being unilingual automatically means being handicapped. English and French are basic world languages spoken or understood by many hundreds of millions of people. To know these two languages is obligatory if one is to participate in world affairs.

It might be said that a knowledge of Spanish or Chinese or Arabic would increase this active participation, and this would certainly be desirable and possible for some. However, bilingualism in French and English remains the best starting point for most Canadians in their efforts to communicate with each other and with the rest of the world. Bilingual universities like Glendon are striving to make this new bilingualism a possibility for our students.

Milwaukee Follows The Canadian Example: U.S. Immersion Programs

Helena Anderson Curtain and Nancy C. Rhodes

Introduction

> The immersion programs have been more thoroughly researched than any other innovative program in education. They have put Canada in the forefront of second language teaching in the world (McGillivray, 1983).[1]

Second language educators in the United States have looked to their counterparts in Canada for guidance in successful bilingual education. The well-documented success of Canadian immersion programs over the past twenty years has inspired some United States school districts to implement their programs based on successful Canadian models. The intent of this article is to give a brief overview of language issues in the United States, to discuss the implementation of the Canadian immersion model in the United States setting, to focus on a specific immersion program based on the Canadian model, and to discuss some of the differences and similarities between United States and Canadian programs.

Language Issues in the United States

The realities of second language education in the United States are much different from those in Canada where immersion programs have had phenomenal growth and success and where bilingualism is seen as a political necessity. The United States is still dealing with a monolingual tradition left over from the days of the "melting pot" theory when many immigrant Americans felt that the best thing they could do was to forget their bilingualism and to blend into a monolingual society.

Second language instruction in the United States is not mandated by law and does not have the widespread support found in Canada. The bulk of second language instruction in the United States is traditionally at the secondary level. To give an idea of the scope of foreign language study in the United States as compared to Canada, approximately 19 percent of American high school students study a second language (Survey of Foreign Language Enrolments . . ., 1984).[2] The percentage of students learning another language is much lower at the elementary level, although the last few years have seen a quickening of interest at this level. The American education system faces a serious challenge in dealing with the lack of foreign language proficiency in the population. Not since the shock of Sputnik over 25 years ago, which left Americans feeling far behind in technology and education, has there been such concentrated national attention on the need to improve foreign language instruction in U.S. schools.

Apart from foreign language programs, bilingual education programs do exist in the United States, and have grown since 1967 when the Bilingual Education Act provided federal funds to help train people and find materials to establish programs to provide linguistic minority students with equal educational opportunities. These programs are designed to help the minority language child make the transition to the majority language and culture, while at the same time attempting to maintain the child's own sense of ethnic pride and cultural identity. Funding for bilingual programs has not, to date, been available to English-speaking majority language students. Programs for majority language students have generally been started as a result of local school initiatives.

The concept of immersion education has been misunderstood in its implications for minority language students in the United States. The issue of immersion vs. what has been called "submersion" has resulted from confusion over the fact that both involve a home-school language switch, but socioeconomic differences and the status of the languages involved make the target populations quite dissimilar. For English-speaking children, the immersion experience is positive and "additive;" for minority language children submersion in English may be negative and "subtractive." (For more information see Hernandez-Chavez, 1984,[3] and Lambert, 1984.[4])

Concern over the decline in the study of foreign languages and cultures has been highlighted in a number of recent reports on education, including *A Nation at Risk*, the report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education (1983).[5] The study of foreign languages and cultures was placed alongside the five "basics" of English, mathematics, computer science, social studies, and natural sciences as a fundamental component of a sound education.

The much-discussed report of the President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies (1979)[6] also underscored the need for foreign language studies. This prestigious commission specifically recommended that such study begin in the elementary school and continue throughout the students' education.

Subsequent commission reports, while focusing on the general decline in the quality of the nation's schools, have also addressed the weaknesses of the foreign language curriculum. The National Commission on Excellence in Education (1983)[5] argued that achieving proficiency in a foreign language takes from four to six years of study and suggested that this begin in the elementary grades. "We believe it is desirable that students achieve such proficiency because study of a foreign language introduces students to non-English-speaking cultures, heightens awareness and comprehension of one's native tongue, and serves the nation's needs in commerce, diplomacy, defense, and education."

Although there are some who question starting instruction in the elementary grades, educators generally agree that there is value in foreign language proficiency. The National Advisory Board on International Education Programs, in a report to the Secretary of Education (1983),[7] advocates that language instruction should start as early as possible. The board recommends that:

> Local school districts should provide every student with the opportunity to begin the study of foreign language in the earliest years of formal education and to continue study of the same language until a functionally useful level of measured proficiency has been achieved.

These views are reiterated in the study by the College Board (1983)[8] which emphasizes the importance of expanding the concept of basic skills to include foreign language instruction for all students. More specifically, the report states that, "knowledge of a foreign language helps students prepare for careers in commerce, international relations, law, science, and the arts." Furthermore, the report emphasizes that the development and maintenance of foreign language skills are valuable national resources.

Spread of the Canadian Model

As the research information from Canadian immersion programs began to be disseminated, and immersion programs were spreading rapidly in Canada, such programs began to be established in the United States where a different set of realities regarding second language learning existed. Whereas in Canada immersion programs were usually established because of a demonstrated need for bilingualism, United States immersion programs have been established for a variety of reasons, most of which centre on a search for alternate approaches to successful second language teaching for young children.

The first immersion program in the United States was started in 1971 in Culver City, California, with the help of professors at the University of California/Los Angeles (Campbell, 1972,[9] Cohen, 1974[10]). They had observed the St. Lambert Elementary School immersion program, were familiar with the Lambert and Tucker research project (1972)[11] and were excited by the possibilities of establishing such a program in the United States. The Culver City Spanish Program, like the rest of the U.S. programs, is modelled after the St. Lambert program.

The number of U.S. immersion programs grew slowly: in 1974, a total immersion program was started in French in Montgomery County, Maryland (a suburban county of Washington D.C.); in 1974, a partial immersion program in French, German and Spanish was started in Cincinnati, Ohio; in 1975, a total immersion program in French was started in Plattsburgh, New York; and in 1977, the Milwaukee Public Schools' immersion program started its German component, and San Diego Schools began a program in Spanish. Immersion programs have continued to spread until, 14 years later, there are a total of 17 such programs in locations ranging from small rural schools to large urban districts. The new programs are spread across the country in California, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, Oklahoma, Oregon, Texas, Utah, and Washington, D.C. Because of the research showing increased second language competence in such programs, all of the United States programs are total immersion programs except for those in Cincinnati, Ohio, and Rochester, New York, where English reading instruction accompanies second language instruction from the outset.

The programs have been initiated by a variety of people: in some cases, the school principal, in other cases, parents, teachers, or a district foreign language co-ordinator. An interesting historical note is that at least three of the city-wide immersion programs were started as part of voluntary desegregation efforts. District administrators in large urban school districts such as San Diego and Milwaukee planned the immersion programs in magnet schools to attract students from all over the district. Based on the premise that racial isolation is educationally disadvantageous to all students, magnet schools were created to:

1. increase the number of integrated schools;

2. provide innovative educational alternatives to the neighborhood school, including such options as creative arts programs, math/science programs, and language immersion.

Even though bilingualism is not valued to the same degree in the United States as in Canada, American parents often give reasons similar to those of Canadian parents for enrolling their children in immersion. Many explain that they unsuccessfully tried to learn a second language when they were in high school, and they want to be able to give this advantage to their children. They also cite the hope that bilingualism will afford more chances for better jobs for their children in the future. They express the view that it is high time for us to start learning other languages and stop expecting foreigners to learn English. "It is terribly conceited to expect everyone else to learn English if we can't speak a second language," says a parent from Milwaukee, Wisconsin (Unpublished, 1982).[12]

As well as hoping for career benefits, American parents stress the importance in an

immersion program of learning to understand and appreciate other cultures. A mother of a third grader suggests that, "By being exposed to the language and its meaning, a child will be better able to understand and appreciate the contributions which different cultures make to society." An added benefit for those enrolled in integrated "magnet" schools is that they also benefit from being exposed to their classmates of varied ethnic backgrounds. A mid-western parent says that, "Culturally and socially, immersion helps to kindle the awareness that America is but one sibling in the world family that needs to share and co-operate with its brothers and sisters. We are not the 'sovereign' to whom all others must yield."

In a recent survey of American immersion parents (De Lorenzo, 1984),[13] the main reasons for enrolling their children in immersion programs were, so that their children would:

1. become bilingual;
2. meet and converse with more and varied people;
3. better understand the way people live in other countries;
4. be more intellectually stimulated and challenged than in a regular English-speaking program.

It was the general feeling that because of increased exposure to the cultural aspects that accompany language study, the students are challenged more than they would be in a regular program. "The children broaden their outlook (of the world) and (have more) exposure to different cultural and linguistic values and experiences," suggests one parent. "They have been tested year in and year out and they are at least level with or slightly above other children not enrolled in the program."

Milwaukee's Immersion Program — Historical Background

In an attempt to put United States immersion programs into a specific context and to compare and contrast issues and concerns which affect programs in both countries, Milwaukee's immersion program, which was begun in 1977, will be presented in some detail. Milwaukee is a city of approximately 600,000 with a metropolitan area of about one million persons. The Milwaukee Public School system has a student population of 90,000 students from kindergarten through grade 12. Planning for an immersion program took about two years during the school system's voluntary integration efforts. The immersion school was established with the cooperation of the State Department of Public Instruction, the board's central administration, the school board, and the community. German was chosen as the language to be offered in the first year, largely because of the German tradition present in Milwaukee. Spanish, the other language which had a very sizable community in the city was already being offered in the bilingual/bicultural program. Plans were made to establish French and Spanish immersion schools in the next two years.

The school was one of the specialty schools which was offered as a choice to parents in 1977 in the second year of the integration effort. Not enough parents were interested in a second language school for it to be started in the first year. As previously mentioned, it was designed as a city-wide magnet school to attract students from throughout the city and suburbs. Transportation funds were provided in part by the state of Wisconsin to support the integration of black and non-black, and city and suburban students. Participation in the desegregation effort at that time entitled the school to federal funds allotted for magnet programs.

Whereas in Canada parents were the impetus behind the immersion movement, in Milwaukee, parents had to be sold on the idea. Milwaukee parents who select the immersion program for their children do not necessarily have the advantage of seeing the second language as a fact of life in their every day environment. They select the program for different reasons. Some of them simply want their children to have the experience of learning another language and are not overly concerned with which language it might be. Others are particularly interested in one language because of friends, family or some other type of contact.

The school system began advertising the language immersion school with flyers sent home with students, through newspaper interviews and feature stories with headlines stating; "Do you want your child to be able to speak two languages by the end of elementary school?" and with coverage from German ethnic newspapers and radio stations. All of these factors played an important role in letting the community know about immersion. Another factor which has grown in importance is word of mouth. The success that was demonstrated during the early years helped immensely to spread the word throughout the community.

After extensive recruitment efforts, 101 students were enrolled to begin Milwaukee's German immersion program in September, 1977. An orientation meeting was held the day before school started to answer any questions and to calm anxieties that parents had regarding possible loss of their children's ability in English, achievement in subject content areas, possible psychological effects, and so on — in fact, the very same questions which had been asked and answered many times over in Canada. These same questions were asked frequently during the first few months. The program was nearing the end of the first semester before parents began to see evidence that the things they had been promised were actually starting to happen. Their children were becoming bilingual in English and German and were also doing well in reading and other subject areas.

An incident during the second semester illustrates a turning point in attitude and served to mobilize the parents. When the legality of the program and possible negative psychological effects were questioned by one school board member, parents took the explanation and rationale upon themselves and answered the concerns like experts. They also successfully lobbied to change the state law regarding what subjects could be taught in a foreign language to make sure that immersion was officially "legal" in Wisconsin.

During the three-week workshop that was held before school opened, and during the first few weeks of school, the staff focused on the challenge of offering the Milwaukee Public Schools curriculum to children who did not know a single word of German. There were great concerns that the children would understand and would not become frustrated. Staff members functioned well as a team and decided to let this team spirit pervade the school — to create a warm learning climate and a family atmosphere that would help make the children feel secure. The children were met as they came off the bus with a smile and a handshake.

Plans were made for the beginning weeks to insure the children's success: vocabulary was systematized (this was not always an easy task since some staff members had slightly differing vocabularies based on regional variations!), simple mathematics and science vocabularies and a uniform list of classroom expressions were decided upon, and children learned second language vocabulary for familiar items they already knew.

Paraprofessional aides were used as models and as conversational partners, and visitors were often used in the same way. It was important to make the children understand that this new language was really something *usable*, that people actually do use it to communicate. An amusing incident happened during the first semester. A group of second graders came to school one morning just bursting with news. They had been waiting for their school bus and had been speaking in German to an old man who was also waiting for a bus. They were very excited and exclaimed: "We talked to him in German and he talked back to us; he understood us!"

As has been previously mentioned, the environment in Milwaukee is not one in which the children have frequent exposure to a second language. Most of the children have no contact with German except at school. As the program grew, this problem lessened, because the children had as role models the children who had been in the program in previous years.

The frustration that had been expected during the first few weeks did not materialize — mainly because, in all the worrying about the problem, not enough account was taken of the almost unlimited energy and flexibility that the children have. While the adults stood at the sidelines, full of anxieties and reservations, the children plunged in undaunted and met with a great amount of success.

Another amusing incident happened during the first weeks of the program. Children, when questioned about the effects of going to school all day in another language, expressed no concern whatsoever and acted as if it were the most natural thing in the world. One child who was thoroughly enjoying the school experience, did express some reservations: she wanted to know why each day when the children were leaving school and boarding the bus, all the adults would stand outside and wave their arms and say to them, "Our feet are the same! Our feet are the same!" (*Auf Widersehen* means "good-bye" in German!)

A French immersion program was initiated in 1978, followed by a Spanish program in 1980. During the first year, the school board, unsure of its posture toward a school that was being conducted in another language, had decided to call the school the "Multi-Language School" and added French to the same building. This was the start of years of effort to find larger quarters. There were great fears regarding the loss of the immersion environment with the addition of another language into the same building. English did replace German in the cafeteria and on the playground. An unexpected plus in the result, however, was that the French students were learning German and the German students were learning French on an informal basis as they played together and rode on the bus together.

The search for school buildings to house the growing immersion programs was complicated by the fact that much bitterness accompanied the closing of neighborhood schools to make way for specialty schools. In fact, the difficulties delayed the opening of the Spanish program by a year and significantly delayed expansion of the German and French programs by several years. The Spanish program was phased into a neighborhood school gradually, as the English-only classes were phased out. This happened in a school that was scheduled to be closed because of the decline in population in that particular neighborhood. The immersion program has grown to the point where there are now well over 1000 children enrolled in the three programs as compared to the original 101.

The original group in the German program is now in grade 8, in the French program, grade 7, and in the Spanish program, grade 5. A middle school has been established for the continuation of the program and students have two daily immersion periods — a language arts class and a social studies class. Plans are underway for continuation at the high school level, with the same type of program.

The Milwaukee Immersion Program — Program Description

The goals of the program which were formulated in 1977 are modelled on the goals of the St. Lambert experiment (Lambert and Tucker, 1972).[11] They state that students who complete the kindergarten through grade 6 immersion sequence will be able to:

1. communicate (understand, speak, read and write) in the second language with ability approximating that of a pupil who is native to that language;

2. perform in English language arts and in subject content areas as well as or better than their monolingual peers;

3. acquire a greater understanding, knowledge and appreciation of other cultures;

4. Achieve such proficiency in the second language and in English that they are able to pursue their studies with ease in both languages.

The program design follows the St. Lambert model. Students begin in four- or five-year-old kindergarten. All of kindergarten and all of first grade are conducted through the second language. At the kindergarten level, although the children may use English, they are encouraged to use the second language vocabulary and expressions with which they are comfortable.

When the students enter the first grade, they are expected to use the second language for classroom communication. Formal English language arts are introduced in the second grade with 30 minutes a day during the first semester and 45 minutes during the second semester. In the third grade the students receive 45 minutes of English instruction a day during the first semester and one hour during the second semester. In grade 4 the amount of English time is 80 minutes per day in the first semester and 120 minutes in the second; at grade 5 it amounts to 120 minutes; and at grade 6, half of the school day (150 minutes) is devoted to English. At every grade level students do receive some additional instruction in English through the specialist teachers of art, music, and physical education. Because of difficulty in finding staff, these services are not available through the second language.

Parental support for the program continues to be very strong and is one of the mainstays of the program's success. Adult evening language classes are available for those who are interested. The parent-teacher organization is very active; parents attend adult classes and sponsor frequent activities. Parents are very interested in immersion and actively seek ways to improve their knowledge. Showing their concern for the growth and improvement of the program, parents and staff sponsored a visit to the program by Merrill Swain of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in 1982, and by André Obadia of Simon Fraser University, in 1985.

Milwaukee parents are planning to form a chapter of ALL (Advocates for Language Learning), an American group of immersion parents based on the Canadian Parents for French model, which was founded by Madeline Ehrlich, a Culver City, California, parent. ALL held its first conference in Culver City in October 1984, and is planning a 1985 San Diego conference and a 1986 Milwaukee conference. Milwaukee parents have been politically active in the struggle to expand the program and find new school sites, so that more students could be taken from the extensive waiting lists. Parents take pride in the fact that they are helping to prepare their children to live in a multi-cultural society which is also becoming a multi-lingual society because of changing political and economic realities.

Lambert and Tucker mention in their 1972 study[11] that the children seem to have a very positive attitude toward their immersion class, that the teacher is friendly and supportive, and that the children feel themselves to be special. The same kind of attitude has been found in Milwaukee, where the children are very proud of the challenges they have overcome, and this pride shows through in the atmosphere of excitement in the building. The children in Milwaukee's program are by no means specially selected or hand-picked. There are no criteria for entrance into the program except for parent interest. The student population comes from diverse geographical and socio-economic backgrounds and has a wide range of intellectual ability. Approximately 40 percent of the students are black, and about 10 percent are Spanish surnamed, Native American or Asian students. The remaining 50 percent are white. Students are randomly selected according to racial quotas from extensive waiting lists.

Test results from Milwaukee's standardized testing program utilizing the Metropolitan Achievement Test and the Iowa Test of Basic Skills have been excellent over the last seven years. For example, in the 1983 grade two reading results, 90 percent of the students in the German and French programs and 84 percent of the students in the Spanish program scored in the average or above-average range compared to 71 percent for Milwaukee schools as a whole and 77 percent for norm groups throughout the United States. These results were from classes which had just begun their formal English instruction for 30 and 45 minutes a day periods during that year. Grade five test results showed 94 percent of the immersion students in the average and above-average range in reading as compared to 72 percent for Milwaukee schools and 79 percent for norm groups throughout the United States. Similar results were found in mathematics test scores.

Nineteen eighty-three was the first year that students in the immersion program were tested at each grade level rather than just at grades 2 and 5. These results were very encouraging and were similar to those in the Canadian research. Results improved grade by grade until, in every case, by grade 5, there were no students in the below-average category, and the number of students in the above-average category had increased proportionately. Another interesting aspect of the test results was that the immersion students were achieving at or above ability level.

Other Considerations

The same questions regarding the importance of IQ and the dilemmas associated with learning disabled students that have been raised in the Canadian research, have been faced in the Milwaukee program. The question of IQ has come up frequently because foreign language education in the United States has sometimes had an élitist flavor. IQ seems to have no effect at all on the children's acquisition of the second language, although it may have an effect on the child's mastery of certain subject content areas. Since supportive remedial services are not available in the second language, parents whose children have been diagnosed as learning disabled have been faced with the difficult choice of taking their children out of the immersion program and putting them into the English program where they can receive support services, or leaving them in the program where they feel comfortable in spite of their apparent handicaps. No solution has been found to this dilemma. Canadian programs have a real advantage in usually being able to offer bilingual diagnostic and support services.

Questions have also arisen regarding the wisdom of enrolling ethnic minority students or socio-economically disadvantaged students in Milwaukee's immersion program. Early critics were concerned that ethnic minority students might not develop cultural pride and awareness, and that learning another language might be detrimental to a minority or socio-economically disadvantaged student's acquisition of English skills. Seven years of excellent test results have answered these concerns to a large extent. Since some of the immersion students are speakers of a black dialect of English, an excellent area for research lies in how learning a second language affects a dialect speaker's acquisition of an alternate form of his first language (i.e., how would it affect acquisition of standard English by a speaker of black English?).

Staffing has been a difficult area for the immersion program. Finding qualified teachers who are bilingual and are certified as elementary school teachers is a continuing challenge, although it has become easier over the years as the reputation of the program and the awareness of the need for such teachers has spread. Milwaukee immersion teachers have been recruited from all over the United States. French teachers have been most difficult to find, and as a result, during the 1984 school year, the Milwaukee school system worked out an exchange agreement with the Belgian government and hired one teacher directly from Belgium. There is an urgent need for native French-speaking teachers and aides. Canadian programs have insisted that immersion teachers have native-like ability in French. Since the supply of such persons is very limited in the monolingual circumstances of the United States, immersion programs must employ a mix of native and non-native speakers among their teachers and aides.

Each language in the immersion program has a staff member assigned as a resource teacher/program co-ordinator whose task is to co-ordinate and help implement the curriculum in the second language. Each school has a resource centre which serves as the hub of the school — this is where the second language materials are kept and where curriculum development activities are concentrated. The role of the resource teacher is essential to the success of the program.

Finding materials has also proven to be a challenge. Canadian programs are a wonderful source of French materials, but they must, of course, be adapted to fit the United States context. Spanish materials which were designed for language minority students in bilingual programs are also readily available. These materials must also be adapted since they were, in some cases, designed for students who speak Spanish as a first language and have a range of vocabulary far greater than that of the immersion students. German materials come directly from Germany and must undergo the most adaptation to be sure that they conform to the philosophy and content of the Milwaukee Public Schools curriculum. Materials and curriculum development continue to be a challenge especially as the program reaches the upper grade levels and the middle school.

In describing the state of United States immersion programs and the Milwaukee program in particular, it is interesting to note the parallels and contrasts between these programs and those in Canada. The following are some of the similarities:

1. Staffing — the problem of finding sufficient numbers of new teachers with qualifications in the second language and the problem of possibly displacing English program teachers — is a challenge in both countries;

2. Program Expansion — finding spaces for all students interested in immersion — is a challenge in both countries;

3. Test scores and ability in the second language have been excellent irrespective of program location or student populations;

4. Research, reformulation of goals, materials development and adaptation, and preservice and inservice teacher training are universal needs for growth;

5. Immersion education has breathed new life into approaches to second language instruction in both countries;

6. Parent organizations have grown from and have furthered the immersion movement (Canadian Parents for French and Advocates for Language Learning);

7. Programs in both countries are always optional in nature;

8. Because of various misunderstandings, programs in both countries have unjustly been criticized as being "élitist;"

9. Students generally come from monolingual backgrounds and may have very little opportunity to interact with native speakers of the second language.

Immersion programs in the United States flourish in the face of obstacles not apparent in Canada. Some of the differences between the two countries are:

1. There is a lack of reinforcement from television and other media in the U.S., depending on language and location of the program;

2. A choice of immersion languages is common in the United States compared to the prevalence of French in Canada;

3. There is no national language policy in the U.S.; monolingualism is a political reality in the U.S. While bilingual programs do exist in the U.S. for speakers of minority languages, there is no government support for second language programs for majority language speakers;

4. The immersion vs. "submersion" issue regarding bilingual education for minority language speakers has been a controversy in the U.S.;

5. In U.S. programs, the classroom teacher usually teaches the English component, while in Canada, this is frequently not the case;

6. Specialist teachers (art, music, physical education, etc.) are often not available to teach in the immersion language;

7. Desegregation is a motivating factor in some U.S. programs;

8. U.S. programs have not been systematically and thoroughly evaluated;

9. The number of students enrolled is very different — almost 8,000 in the United States compared to 150,000 in Canada.

The successful transplanting of immersion programs from Canada to the U.S. amply demonstrates the universality of the immersion concept. So, while the immersion programs in Canada and the U.S. were born from different needs and operate under a different set of realities, they both take aim at a common goal: a level of bilingualism never before accomplished through traditional second language teaching methods.

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The Education of Immersion Teachers: Challenge of the Eighties

Claudette Tardif

The challenge of the late sixties and seventies was to establish French immersion programs in school jurisdictions across the country for parents who wished their children to become bilingual. The challenge of the eighties rests at the post-secondary level in providing continued possibilities for further study in French at the university level for graduates of immersion programs and in providing teacher education programs for immersion teachers. This paper will consider more specifically the issue of teacher education for immersion teachers.

The Neglect of Immersion Teacher Education

The education of immersion teachers has generally not been given the attention that it ought to have had, given the momentum of the "immersion phenomenon." Considering the enormous amount of time, energy and money that has been invested in immersion education, it is somewhat shocking to note that there have been few systematic attempts to provide immersion teacher education programs in Canada — the foundation on which quality immersion programs should be built. In his review of the many variables that come into play in bilingual education, Bibeau (1982:109)[1] concludes that it is the pedagogical aspects of bilingual education which have been the most neglected in research: the teaching methods used, the preparation of teachers and the creation of appropriate teaching and resource material.

Already in 1973, Stern emphasized the importance of the teacher in bilingual education:

> The teacher is, of course, a key figure in the development of bilingual education . . . Moreover he is the principal and often sole person on whose resources the development of bilingualism in a group of children depends (Stern, 1973: 140).[2]

Recently an entire issue of *Dialogue*, the newsletter on the teaching of English and French as Second Languages published by the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, was devoted to the question of teacher training.[3] The recent study conducted by the Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers, "National Study of French Immersion Teacher Training and Professional Development," indicates that there is a wide variation in the amount and type of education that is available to immersion teachers in teacher education programs across the country.

> There is great variety in the nature of the various training programs. This diversity is seen in the type of certification given, the degree of specialization, the time allotted to immersion, the course requirements, the duration of teaching practices, the degrees issued, and even the work experience required for admission.
>
> This state of affairs reflects an ambiguity with respect to teacher training needs and formulas (CAIT Study, 1984: 57).[4]

Very few institutions offer an entire four year teacher education program centred on the preparation of teachers capable of utilizing French as the language of instruction for the majority of the school day.[5]

This situation is a considerable source of concern to all interest groups involved in immersion. School board officials who must hire immersion teachers for their students are often unsure of the abilities and competencies that teachers need to work effectively in an immersion setting. Parents have expected that the programs, the teaching and the services offered in French immersion should be equal to those in English programs. This expectation in the early years of immersion education may have been unrealistic, considering the small numbers of students involved. Today, with over 150,000 students enrolled in some form of French immersion, students, parents and school boards have a right to expect teachers teaching in such settings to be well qualified to work in an immersion context.

The Lack of Trained Immersion Teachers

Because of the dearth of specially trained immersion teachers, it has been common practice in the past to hire teachers who are native speakers of the language having little or no preparation in understanding the processes at work in second language acquisition and teaching, or to hire graduates of core French teacher training programs having extensive training in the teaching of French rather than in the teaching of content areas in French. By this statement I do not wish to imply that there are few "good immersion teachers." On the contrary, there are many experienced immersion teachers across the country who have been tremendously successful without the benefit of teacher education in immersion. This success has been largely due, however, to the extraordinary work and dedication of most immersion teachers. After twenty years of experience in immersion teaching in Canada, teacher education institutions can no longer dismiss the special needs of immersion teachers.

The Special Needs of Immersion Teachers

Many teachers in the field are "caught between old and new, second and first language teaching approaches (Obadia, May, 1984: i)."[6] The truth of the matter is that teaching a second language in an immersion context is not wholly first or second language teaching. Teaching through immersion represents a distinctive approach to the learning of a second language which involves the total education of the child. Teachers in immersion programs are faced with a dual task: how to teach a content area, and also how to integrate second language learning and teaching across the various curriculum areas. As such, the education of immersion teachers merits attention in its own right.

Universities Have Been Slow to Respond

Universities have been generally slow to respond to the special demands created by the "immersion phenomenon." As Obadia (1984: i) states: "The field of French immersion teacher training is in search of its own definition."[6] Calvé (1984) made a somewhat similar statement at a recent conference of Canadian Parents for French: "We do not really know how to teach it (immersion). There is no theory behind immersion teaching."[7] This is only in part true. As with any new area of study, no definitive model or theory of immersion teaching can be advanced. It is possible, however, based on the experience of twenty years of immersion teaching and on current research with both first and second language acquisition, to identify the major components of the building blocks of an immersion teacher education program. In many respects the teacher preparation program of immersion teachers is similar to the teacher preparation program of any other future teacher. In other respects, an immersion teacher education program has its own particular characteristics.

Immersion Teacher Education — A Model

Models of teacher education generally include a group of core education courses as a compulsory part of their program. The professional development of immersion teachers must include these core education courses while recognizing the distinctive features of the immersion approach to education. Teacher preparation programs for immersion teachers specify, by their structure and their content, both a process and a product. As a process, there is a recognition of the changes or developmental stages which occur as a teacher candidate moves through a program which emphasizes education in and through a second language. As a product, there is a recognition of the special knowledge and abilities required of an immersion teacher. The model given in this paper specifies both the general principles that characterize the *process* and the specific components of the content of an education program for immersion teachers — the *product*.

I. General Principles of an Immersion Teacher Education Program

The Need for Maximum Exposure to French

The education of immersion teachers cannot be reduced to one methodology course in French immersion. A comprehensive program of university courses needs to be offered in the French language. There is evidence to suggest that the process of being immersed in subject matter courses in the target language at the post-secondary level will lead to an improvement of target language skills.[8] As well, students taking both education (e.g., educational curriculum and instruction, educational psychology, educational foundations) and non-education courses (e.g., history, mathematics and sociology) in the French language will have acquired the terminology of that particular discipline, and will feel more comfortable when teaching that content area in French in the classroom.

The Need for Integration

A major tenet of immersion is the principle of the development of "language across the curriculum." The success of immersion has been primarily because of this approach to language learning — the learning of language in an almost incidental manner while concentrating on content in other subject areas. This implies that teachers working in an immersion program need to be thoroughly familiar not only with the curriculum and methodology of the French language arts program, but also with the curriculum and methodology particular to other subject areas — mathematics, science, social studies, etc. Because every immersion teacher is by necessity a language teacher, an interdisciplinary and holistic approach to subject matter knowledge and skills must be fostered. The teaching of language cannot be disassociated from the teaching of other curriculum areas. Knowing how to integrate language learning with other subject areas is a particular skill required of an immersion teacher.

Integration in the curriculum of immersion teacher education also involves the linking of the various education disciplines to a common theme — immersion. Thus a course in educational psychology could stress the acquisition of language in immersion settings, the socio-linguistic factors that influence language acquisition, current research on the psychology of bilingualism, learning styles appropriate to the immersion context; a course in educational administration could stress the role of the principal in the immersion school, the role of parents in effecting changes in a school system; a course in educational foundations could emphasize views of education which have given rise to the immersion phenomenon, and immersion in other contexts (world-wide). Mahé (1984: 272), in her study of social studies teaching and French immersion, suggests that teachers and future teachers need to explore the "possible relationships between second language acquisition theories, and models of social studies concepts and inquiry development." In this way, efforts to innovate "ways and means of integrating social studies and second language teaching (Mahé, 1984: 273)" could be tested in the classroom. These are but a few examples of the many areas in which a multidisciplinary and integrative approach revolving around a common theme could be attempted.

The Need for a Holistic Approach

Teachers must attend not only to children's cognitive and linguistic needs but also to their affective needs. This may be particularly important in a school program which emphasizes the language and culture of a group of people other than one's native language and culture. The teacher needs to take into account the children's perceptions, attitudes and feelings toward the target group. Immersion involves the education of the *total* child. Immersion teachers must therefore have the opportunity in their education program to explore their self-other perceptions, to reflect on their values and beliefs in regard to education in general, and more particularly, on their attitudes and perceptions toward other language groups and cultures. Understanding one's own preconceptions and beliefs is a prior condition to being able to help others understand their attitudes and beliefs.

The affective dimension of language acquisition has been documented by many researchers (Dulay and Burt, 1977;[9] Krashen 1981, 1983[10]). A non-threatening and accepting environment will enhance one's abilities to acquire confidence and communicative skills in the second language. Language teachers must, therefore, strive to diminish the anxieties that the children or their parents may bring with them to the language learning experience.

The Need for Curricular Awareness

The immersion teacher is often expected to play the role of innovator in curriculum and evaluation. Though immersion teachers are expected to implement the same curriculum as the one used in English programs, they must often extensively adapt these curriculums to meet the linguistic abilities of their students. This involves either finding appropriate resource material or adapting existing material. According to Beaulieu (1980), bilingual teachers are often confronted with material and resource problems (non-existent, non-available, inadequate, inconsistent).[11] Immersion teachers must often rely on their own initiative to find appropriate resource materials and methodologies to carry out their tasks. An immersion teacher education program must, therefore, stress knowledge of the curriculum and the ability to evaluate and choose appropriate teaching and resource material, to adapt existing material, to devise and assess teaching strategies for immersion, and to choose appropriate means of student evaluation within an immersion context. This implies that the education of immersion teachers must stress the processes of reflection, critical thinking, and creativity.

The Need for Practise Teaching in an Immersion Setting

In most teacher preparation programs, the student teaching experience is considered the *sine qua non* of the students' professional preparation. By synthesizing theory and practice, the *practicum* experience offers students an opportunity to test their newly-gained knowledge and skills in a classroom setting. It is imperative that future immersion teachers be given the opportunity to complete their *practicum* in a school setting offering an immersion program. Placement in a core French setting will not adequately prepare student teachers in their roles as immersion teachers.

II. Specific Components of an Immersion Teacher Education Program

Language and Culture

The special nature of the acquisition of French through the immersion process requires that the teacher in an immersion context have native-like competency in the language. The teacher is often the only second language model to which the child is exposed on a regular basis. It is important, therefore, that a future immersion teacher's education program be one which allows him/her to perfect and enrich his/her skills in the second language.

A teacher education program that emphasizes linguistic proficiency must also emphasize the cultural dimension of language acquisition. It is not enough to be linguistically proficient in the language. Teachers must know, understand and appreciate the cultural dimension of the language they are teaching. In most areas of Canada outside the province of Québec, students may form preconceived stereotyped impressions of French-speaking people simply through lack of exposure to this cultural group. The teacher, then, has an ever greater responsibility for presenting the culture of the French-speaking people.[12] All future teachers specializing in the teaching of a second language should spend a certain period of time immersed in the target language and culture in order to gain awareness, knowledge, and appreciation. Courses that focus on the French reality in Canada (whether it be in literature, culture and civilization, sociology, or political science) should be necessary ingredients of any teacher education program.

Language and Its Acquisition

It is essential that a future immersion teacher have an understanding of the nature of language and how it is acquired. Language is a very complex and multi-faceted tool used by man to make sense of his environment. Language is both the means by which we communicate meaning and the means by which we construct meaning through interaction with the environment. Although language can be considered by linguists as a code made up of an arbitrary set of symbols, language, for the everyday speaker, derives its meaning from the cognitive and social understandings which give meaning to the linguistic code. In order to communicate effectively with a native speaker of the language, a speaker must have a knowledge of the social context in which the language will be used in addition to linguistic skill. Besides knowing *how* to say something in the target language, the learner needs to know under *what* circumstances it can be said, to *whom* it can be said, and *how it will be interpreted* by the native speaker.

In keeping with this view of language, future language teachers need to develop a philosophy of language teaching based on a theory of language which emphasizes the *use* of language rather than the *study* of language. Klinck (1984: 3) stresses the importance of this view of language in a second language teacher education program:

> Understanding that language learning is learning about meaning and context would introduce a healthy scepticism and critical reflection to the preparation of second language teachers.[13]

Learning a second language through the immersion approach has much in common with learning one's native language. In both instances, language becomes a tool for communication. Lapkin (1984: 8) refers to immersion as "communicative language teaching *par excellence*."[14] By emphasizing the communication of ideas, language in the immersion classroom becomes a means to an end and not an end in itself. This approach to language acquisition closely parallels the processes involved in first language acquisition. Future teachers need, therefore, to be at ease with some of the basic tenets of first language acquisition: the importance given to meaning rather than form, "on *what* is being said rather than *how* it is being said (Krashen, 1984: 62);" the importance of oral feedback and affective support given by "significant others;" the importance of a varied and rich environment with which the child can interact.[15] Knowledge of the developmental stages that a child goes through in first language acquisition is important in understanding second language acquisition. The child, in acquiring a second language, will go through a silent period in which he/she is building competence in the language. A listening and comprehension stage will precede production in the second language in the same way that it preceded production in the first language.

Language Teaching: The Immersion Approach

The way in which we view second language acquisition has important implications for the way in which we conceptualize and structure the teaching of second languages in our schools. A study of the theoretical assumptions underlying second language acquisition should constitute a vital component of an immersion teacher education program, for it allows the practitioner to ground his practice in theory. In view of the special nature of immersion, courses in the methodology of language teaching in an immersion context must integrate knowledge gained from a study of the processes of first language acquisition, coupled with second language teaching strategies.

The success of language learning depends on many factors. Teachers need to be aware of language theories that emphasize the conditions which may be crucial for successful language learning. For Krashen (1984), the success of immersion is due to the large amount of comprehensible input which students receive in these programs.[15] This is consistent with second language acquisition theory which states that we acquire language in only one way: when we understand messages in that language, i.e., when we receive "comprehensible input (Krashen, 1982)."[16]

This theory of language acquisition has many implications for language teaching. The teacher must strive to create situations wherein the child will seek to use the second language in a meaningful communicative setting. Attention must be on *message* rather than on *form*. Classroom activities need to focus on providing input for acquisition. This implies that attention be given to comprehension and communication activities within a classroom. "Listening, understanding, and communicating are at the basis of the immersion approach (Immersion Handbook, 1982: 23)."

Attention to extra-linguistic context is important in order to help the acquirer to understand. Certain second language stategies can be most useful in this regard — questioning techniques, the use of aids (visual, auditory, olfactory, tactile), verbal and non-verbal cues, the exploitation of dialogue situations, the reinforcement of vocabulary and linguistic structures through oral feedback. Within this language teaching approach, content and teaching methods need to emphasize language for communication. In addition to the need for comprehensible input, there is a need for relevant and interesting subject matter, a need for affective support, and a need for concrete, "hands-on" experiences in the language. The future immersion teacher needs to develop an orientation to second language teaching which is rooted in communicative theories of language acquisition and in successful second language teaching practices. This requires an approach to language teaching which is flexible, dynamic, creative and integrative.

Language and the Family

Stern (1984: 507) claims that the growth of bilingualism has occurred largely because of the success of the immersion experience.[17] Compared with other educational experiences, immersion is unique in that it was "invented and launched by parents (Stern, 1984: 507)."[17] Immersion teachers recognize that they are dealing with a group of parents who are generally highly interested in and committed to the education of their children. Teachers can therefore expect that the home-school relationship will be of particular significance in an immersion context. In his role of Superintendent of French Programs with the Carleton Board of Education, McGillivray (1979) observed that immersion school principals and immersion teachers spent more than the usual amount of time trying to reassure parents that their children were progressing normally.[18] Knowing how to work with parents and how to deal with parental concerns and expectations constitutes an important part of the teacher's work, especially at the entry-point stage to an immersion program. An important component of a teacher education program for immersion teachers should focus on the role of the family in the immersion educational process.

Issues Related to Bilingualism

Immersion teachers should be familiar with major research conducted on the issue of bilingualism. They should have an awareness of the variables which have been a focus of study in bilingualism: attitude and motivation, socio-cultural identity, age, the effects of immersion on students' general academic achievement, on linguistic proficiency in one's mother tongue and in the second language, the different types of immersion programs, and the suitability of immersion for all learners. These variables are often a source of concern for parents and school administrators, and teachers are often consulted in the decision-making process. An understanding of the factors which bear on successful language learning can aid teachers in their professional roles of advice-givers, and in their understanding of the processes of second language acquisition and their implications for second language teaching.

Conclusion

The world of the classroom teacher is very complex. "To be a teacher is to live in many worlds (Hagen, 1973)."[19] For the immersion teacher, this world is further complicated by the fact that most classroom activities are conducted in a language other than the child's home language. Immersion teachers need a teacher education program which will enable them to meet the challenges of the immersion classroom. A concerted effort on the part of the universities to develop an immersion teacher education curriculum is urgently needed. Teacher educators can no longer afford to perpetuate a system that dismisses the special needs of immersion teachers. Teacher education can be improved by thoughtful, conscious decision making. It is time for teacher educators to channel their energies into developing a model of immersion education. The time has passed when we can simply tinker, modify, or repair an existing curriculum.

Notes

1. G. Bibeau, *L'éducation bilingue en amérique du nord* (Montréal: Guérin éditeur limitée, 1982).
2. H. H. Stern, *Report on Bilingual Education* (Toronto: Modern Language Centre, 1973).
3. *Dialogue,* A Newsletter on the Teaching of English and French as Second Languages, Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, vol. 1 (3), March, 1983.
4. Association Canadienne des professeurs d'immersion/Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers, *National Study of French Immersion Teacher Training and Professional Development*, Ottawa, 1984.
5. Faculté Saint-Jean of the University of Alberta in Edmonton is one of the few institutions in Canada to offer a four year teacher education program entirely in the French language. This program serves both Francophone and Anglophone students. Many of the ideas and suggestions put forth in this paper are currently part of the teacher education program at Faculté Saint-Jean. New ideas and approaches to teacher training and development are continually being tried and evaluated.
6. A. Obadia, "The teacher, key to the success story," *Langue et Société/Language and Society*, Commissioner of Official Languages of Canada, No. 12, Winter 1984, pp. 15-19.

   A. Obadia, "La Formation du professeur d'immersion au Canada: Une conception philosophique et pédagogique en devenir ou à la recherche d'une troisième voie," paper presented at the symposium on The Role of Western Canadian Universities and Colleges in Bilingual Education, Calgary, May 1984.

7. The statement made by Pierre Calvé was quoted in the September 1984 issue of the Canadian Association of University Teachers *Bulletin*, "More immersion teachers needed."

8. Faculté Saint-Jean students acquire subject matter knowledge as well as improve their linguistic proficiency in taking their course work in the French language. Many Anglophone students successfully complete the examination for the "Certificat de Bilinguisme" given by the Faculté at the end of the student's final year in the program. Current work done by M. Wesche at the University of Ottawa appears to support these findings. For further information on Wesche's findings, refer to M.B. Wesche, "A promising experiment at Ottawa University," *Langue et Société/Language and Society*, No. 12, Winter 1984.

9. H. Dulay, and M. Burt, "Remarks on creativity in language acquisition," M. Burt, H. Dulay, and M. Finnochiaro, eds., *Viewpoints on English as a Second Language* (New York: Regents, 1977), pp. 95-121.

10. S. Krashen, *Second Language Acquisition and Second Language Teaching* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1981).

11. J. Beaulieu, La préparation des enseignants bilingues, unpublished Master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1980.

12. For further information refer to C. Tardif, "French Teacher Perceptions of Cultural Goals," unpublished Master's thesis, University of Alberta, 1978.

    Alberta Education, *Teaching in a Language Other Than English: The Immersion Approach*, Edmonton, 1983.

13. P. Klinck, "French Teacher Training: A Proposal for a New Pedagogy," paper presented at the symposium on The Role of Western Canadian Universities and Colleges in Bilingual Education, Calgary, May 1984.

14. S. Lapkin, "Further Perspectives on Administrative and Pedagogical Aspects of French Immersion Education," *CONTACT*, vol. 3 (1), February, 1984, pp. 4-10.

15. S. Krashen, "Immersion: Why it works and what it has taught us," *Langue et société/Language and Society*, Commissioner of Official Languages of Canada, No. 12, Winter 1984, pp. 61-64.

16. S. Krashen, and T. Terrell, *The Natural Approach. Language Acquisition in the Classroom* (California: The Alemany Press, 1982).

17. H. H. Stern, "A Quiet Language Revolution: Second-Language Teaching in Canadian Contexts — Achievements and New Directions," *La Revue canadienne des langues vivantes/The Canadian Modern Language Review*, vol. 40 (4), 1984, pp. 506-524.

18. W. R. McGillivray, "Administrative Problems of Early Immersion," B. Mlacak, and E. Isabelle, eds., *So You Want Your Child To Learn French! A Handbook for Parents* (Ottawa: Canadian Parents for French, 1979), pp. 106-110.

19. O. Hagen, *Changing World/Changing Teachers* (California: Goodyear Publishing Company, 1973).

The CPF Saga

Stewart Goodings

This is not an "official" history of Canadian Parents for French, nor is it the unexpurgated "inside" story of CPF's first eight years. At some point, there will be graduate students and political scientists who will describe, in far more dispassionate prose than mine, the evolution of this remarkable association. But now, in 1985, I am trying to write history "on the run." As someone who is still very much involved, I can only really offer my impressions of how CPF has grown and why it has been so successful in such a short time.

For who could have foreseen in March, 1977, as 30 parents met in Ottawa at the invitation of the then Commissioner of Official Languages, Keith Spicer, the phenomenal growth which has taken place? That tiny band of 30 founders has become a 15,000-strong national association, with 12 active provincial and territorial branches, as well as more than 130 local chapters spread across the country from Sooke, B.C., to St. John's, Newfoundland, from Whitehorse to Windsor.

The dictionary defines "saga" as a heroic narrative and, to be sure, there has been some heroism in CPF — standing alone in front of a hostile school board can be a daunting experience for anyone! Yet, the evolution of CPF has been characterized more by innumerable ordinary and often rather mundane acts: stuffing envelopes for newsletters, sitting for hours on a living room floor trying to plot strategy for getting a French immersion program started, painstakingly writing a brief for a Ministry of Education, going to meetings and answering questions from apprehensive parents, typing letters with two fingers to far-flung local chapters, and so on.

So, to call this article "The CPF Saga" may be a touch pretentious. Yet the story is an amazing one, and my objective is to convey some of the high points of the first eight years and to suggest some of the reasons CPF can look forward to even greater results in the future. This trip down memory lane must, in many respects, be a rather personal odyssey, but I hope everyone who has ever been involved with CPF will see some reflection of her/his own participation. For those readers who have not yet been active in Canadian Parents for French, I hope this will show you what you've been missing!

The Early Days

Keith Spicer was the "founding father" of CPF. In his last year as Commissioner of Official Languages he convened a small meeting in Ottawa, a "Parents Conference on French Language and Exchange Opportunities." He felt there was a need for developing bilingualism from the grass roots, among the youth of the country. In the first *Newsletter* published in June 1977, Spicer described his motives and hopes for the fledgling group:

> With the launching of Canadian Parents for French, English-speaking Canadians wishing to give their children a better linguistic chance than they have had, need no longer feel isolated. For the first time, thoughtful and articulate young parents from every part of Canada have organized to exchange up-to-date information on all aspects of French language learning and youth exchanges.

Keith Spicer brought a vitality and an inspiration to CPF that has pervaded its spirit from the start, and he showed his ability to predict the future when he noted:

> The commitment and enthusiasm of the 30 founding members leave no doubt whatever that they will soon be joined by thousands of others. Together they will exert a powerful

> influence in lifting the horizons of tomorrow's Canadian parents and in shaping the civilized Canada we all want them to inherit.

The eagerness of the pioneers was demonstrated early. Margaret Terry, the organization's long-serving treasurer, recalls being invited by Mary Ann Rainer to a meeting on the Friday evening of the long holiday weekend in May, 1977 to plan the first national conference that fall. Judy Gibson, another of the dynamic veteran CPFers, refers to the work of CPF's first executive secretary this way:

> CPF existed on Mary Ann Rainer's kitchen table for many nervous weeks. She did the day-to-day work almost alone at the beginning.

For the first 18 months, until October 1, 1978, Pat Webster was the national chairman (the title later changed to national president). Pat and her husband had been trying to get an immersion program started in Halton, Ontario, where they lived. They finally succeeded in the fall that the Websters moved to England! Pat brought a powerful vision and formidable organizing talents to the association in its infancy, and several years later returned to Canada and became the Ontario director for CPF.

The first national conference was held on October 13-16, 1977 in Ottawa. There were 60 delegates and the speakers included Keith Spicer, Max Yalden, Spicer's replacement as Commissioner; Jean-Luc Pepin, Co-chairman of the Task Force on Canadian Unity; Dr. Henry Edwards of the University of Ottawa, and Dr. Fred Genesee of McGill University, among others. This line-up of distinguished speakers began a pattern to be repeated at subsequent conferences: stimulating resource people ready and willing to share their expertise with the emerging "parent linguistic missionaries."

It is interesting to note that one of the conference sessions was held in conjunction with the Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers, which had been founded at the same time as CPF. Over the years, there has been much valuable co-operation between the parents and teachers of the new immersion generation. A grant from the Department of the Secretary of State made the conference possible, and this was a precedent which happily became a habit over succeeding years.

Building the Base

While CPF began as a "top-down" initiative, its founders realized it could only make progress on its objectives[1] if it had strong roots in the provinces and in local communities. Thus, it was decided to develop a three-level organizational structure: a national board of directors, provincial branches, and many local chapters. While it seems obvious now that this is the most sensible organization for an association of this kind, it is a tribute to the original directors that they insisted on developing a presence all over the country, and did not settle for simply being a lobby group in Ottawa.

I recall that my first contact with CPF was a request to buy a Christmas cake at a meeting sponsored by the Victoria chapter! It was to raise money to donate to the local immersion school to buy books in French. By early 1979, when I first became aware of CPF, several such local groups had already been founded in B.C., along with others elsewhere in Canada. Judy Gibson volunteered, in April, 1977 to help get a chapter started in her community of Coquitlam, B.C. and this led to many years of very active participation in CPF at all three levels of the association.

She recalls "collating, stapling, folding and stamping hundreds of newsletters that first year, and building our mailing list by word of mouth and local meetings until we had 860 families in 28 districts by November 1978." Judy became B.C. director, and held that position for three years. Janet Poyen, CPF's second national president, described Judy Gibson this way:

> Not only was she the trend-setter in running a provincial organization, but she also had the national vision to help the Board develop its skills and to increase communication on a national level.

Janet's reference to the national board reminds us that from the start, the governing body of CPF has been composed of provincial directors, and this has meant that there has been a strong link between initiatives at the national level and what was happening everywhere across the country. National board meetings were usually long and tiring, yet they were also invigorating, as everyone heard the latest successes (and horror stories!) of CPF groups from coast to coast.

From the establishment in 1970 of the Official Languages in Education Agreement, and even going back to the impetus of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, the federal government was a key factor in promoting French language learning, and so it was clear that a national perspective was required for any parent association that wanted to promote more and better French programs. Yet in a country where the responsibility for education rests with the provinces, it was equally essential that CPF provincial branches deal with their respective Ministries of Education, to remind them that bilingualism was not some federal plot, but was genuinely wanted by an increasing number of citizens in all provinces. And since the actual delivery of educational services was up to the school boards, it was inescapable that CPF would need active local chapters to encourage, badger and occasionally harass trustees and administrators. Jeanne Collins, who was provincial director in Prince Edward Island and then national vice-president, remembers the local battles this way:

> In retrospect, I would say that local victories gave the most personal satisfaction. Being able, through CPF communication, to gather a crowd of 400 people to confront a school board over an unpopular decision and seeing a subsequent reversal of policy has to be a very heady experience.

Whatever the specific directions are for CPF in the future, it seems clear that its strength will depend on maintaining a good balance among the needs and contributions of all three levels of the association.

Spreading the Message

By the fall of 1985, there have been 31 issues of the *National Newsletter*. The first one was published in June 1977, only 3 months after the founding conference. Over the years, thousands of Canadians have learned about CPF's message by reading this *Newsletter*. It has been an invaluable source of information for CPFers and prospective members about developments in French education, the latest research findings, extra-curricular resources, and just plain good feelings about the national movement. For most of the time, Harvey Linnen has been the editor. He began as Saskatchewan director and later took on the job of editing and publishing the *National Newsletter*. He has gathered interesting material, cajoled others into providing their news, and presented the entire package in an attractive and readable format.

But the *Newsletter* is only one of a range of publications produced by CPF. One of the earliest was a *Bibliography of Articles and Books on Bilingualism in Education*, edited by Anthony Massey and Joy Potter. It was commissioned by CPF and funded by the Department of the Secretary of State. For many long-time CPF members, the publication in 1979 of *So You Want Your Child to learn French!* was a highlight of the association's history. Judy Gibson puts it this way:

> Beth Mlacak (from Ottawa) deserves special mention for her totally volunteer efforts on this project. Sweat and even tears went into this book, which was such a success because it so perfectly met an unfulfilled need.

The book contained 20 articles on various aspects of French language learning and it addressed all the questions that apprehensive parents were asking about French immersion and other types of French education. In Canadian publishing terms, it was a "best-seller" — over 15,000 copies. For many people, this book helped to establish the legitimacy of CPF and French immersion.

The *Immersion Registry* was another unique CPF project, listing all the French immersion programs across the country. Initially published in 1981, it has been updated and re-issued annually, and provides much needed information to families moving from one part of the country to another. It has also been a valuable resource document for educators and administrators who are looking for the cross-country picture in French immersion programs.

In addition to these publications, several other brochures and pamphlets have been produced to help parents and educators in their objectives.[2] Nearly all were written by CPF members, reflecting once again the contribution made by volunteers.

National Conferences

There have been nine so far, beginning with the 1977 Ottawa conference.[3] Each has had a distinctive quality that made the three-day event memorable for all participants. Some people may wonder why CPF devotes such time and effort annually to one big meeting. Janet Poyen provides the answer:

> In our own communities, we were often considered a bit odd by people antagonistic or indifferent to our cause. It was therefore a joy once a year to be surrounded by bright and dedicated individuals who shared our enthusiasm and experienced the same feelings of triumph or frustration.

Often it is lonely, time-consuming and seemingly unproductive to work for better French language services. CPFers need the lift that national conferences always provide. Carolyn Hodych, who was Newfoundland's director for two years, then national vice-president for two years, remembers the people she met:

> The four national conferences I attended were exciting, and a wonderful opportunity to meet people from a wide variety of places and backgrounds — also a chance to see how CPF was perceived everywhere in Canada.

One of the remarkable features of CPF's nine annual meetings has been the way top-level educators, public officials and other prominent citizens have been willing to contribute their time and ideas to the conference delegates, usually without fees and often at considerable personal inconvenience.

Each year, between 100 and 150 delegates come together, spend an intensive three days of meeting and talking, and go back to their local communities with many new ideas and renewed vigor for the following year. Some will return with vivid memories of, say, a workshop on French culture by Janine Tougas, a stimulating presentation by Dr. Maggie Bruck, a heart-warming panel of current immersion students, or a description by Clarence LeBlanc of the ideal components of a core French program. Others remember the personal friendships made and maintained over the years, and the sense of camaraderie among people involved in a common cause.

As for me, I will never forget Antonine Maillet, the Acadian author, speaking to us in Saint John in 1984, urging us to respect the culture of her people and suggesting that French and English speaking Canadians can achieve so much if we work together. Her eloquence and spirit epitomized the linguistic and cultural goals of Canadian Parents for French. And if you were in Charlottetown in 1982, who will forget that marvellous evening at the lobster supper as one provincial delegation after another got up and shared its distinctive song or story in a thoroughly impromptu cross-Canada cultural *tour d'horizon*?

National conferences are also good for the ego! When you see important people like federal cabinet ministers, commissioners of official languages, or leading academics, and listen to them praise the work of CPF, you cannot help being buoyed by their respect. So, the national conferences have done a lot for the emergence of CPF as a national force. Yet their significance is not simply as morale-boosters, because after all is said and done, their effectiveness reflects the fact that French education has made very real progress in recent years.

The Numbers Game

In the 1977-78 school year, there were about 37,000 students enrolled in French immersion across Canada. In the 1984-85 school year, that figure had grown to just over 150,000. French immersion is one of the greatest success stories in Canadian education, and while it began many years before CPF, the period of its phenomenal increase has closely paralleled CPF's own growth. At opposite ends of the country, French immersion increased in 1984-85 by 47 percent over the previous year in Newfoundland and Labrador, and by 29 percent in British Columbia. And in all other parts of the country, parents have been registering their offspring in record-breaking numbers. In some communities where there are limits on enrolment, parents have slept on the sidewalk to ensure their child's opportunity for French education.

Yet this interest, impressive as it is, probably only scratches the surface of what could happen with French immersion in the future. In 1984, CPF commissioned a Gallup poll involving a representative sample of over 3,000 English-speaking Canadians. Perhaps the two most dramatic findings were that 68 percent wanted children to learn French at school to become bilingual, and 60 percent of the parents who supported French at school said they would enrol their children in French immersion if it were available. This indicates a substantial latent desire for more French immersion. It was also interesting to note that these positive responses were consistently high among people of varied ethnic, educational, and occupational backgrounds.

The People

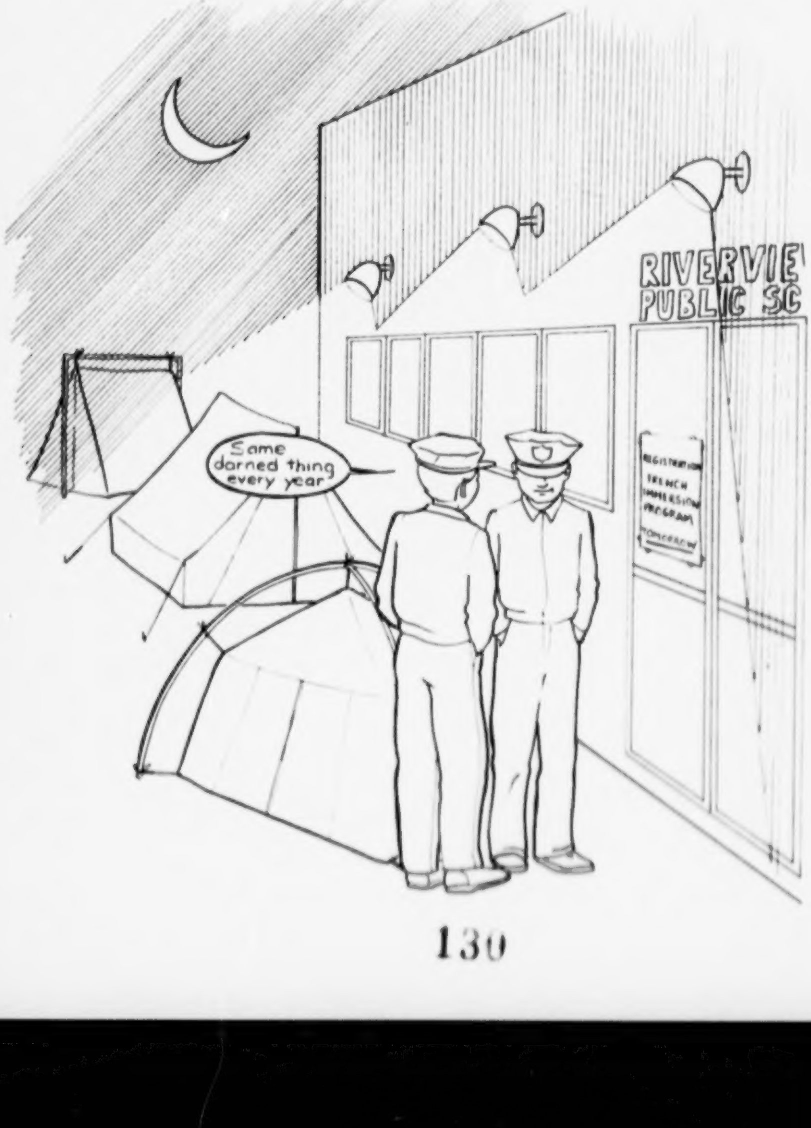
No perspective on CPF's first eight years would be anywhere near complete without mentioning a number of individuals who have contributed so much to the association's development. Some people were deeply involved before I joined, but I know the respect in which they were held: Mary Ann Rainer, the first executive secretary; Pat Webster, the first national chairman; Patricia Holland, for four years Nova Scotia director; Liz Annesley, long-time Québec director and alternate; Mary Lou Morrison, PEI director for several years; Carmeta Abbott, Ontario director in the early years, and others.

When I joined CPF, Janet Poyen was national president, and she held that position for three years at a crucial stage in the organization's life. During Janet's term, secure funding was obtained from the Secretary of State and many of the most important projects, such as the *Immersion Registry* and *So You Want Your Child to Learn French!* were initiated. As Bob Williston, a former New Brunswick and Québec director, put it:

> Janet gave leadership against the odds. She frequently had to deal with Board members who had some very dissimilar goals among them. Her strength as an individual in a group was often a life-saver to CPF.

Janet had started as a local volunteer in Victoria, went to the first national conference and returned as alternate director for B.C. She went on to become B.C. director, and then became national chairman in October 1978. Even in "retirement" from elected CPF office, Janet has maintained a full involvement, by editing the *Immersion Registry* and carrying out a major national study on Core French.

I joined the national board as director for B.C. in October 1981, as Janet left office, and Carolle Anderson of Calgary became national president. During her term of office, Carolle worked hard to strengthen the internal operations of CPF, and developed most of the committee structure and personnel and national office ar-



rangements that have served the organization so well in recent years. She also strengthened CPF's links with other national organizations, such as the Canadian Association of Second Language Teachers and the Canadian Teachers' Federation. One of her lesser-known achievements was to give up smoking during board meetings, and still maintain her good humor!

Carolyn Hodych was national vice-president for two years, after having been Newfoundland director for two years. She also chaired the publications committee, which is probably the heaviest national committee, during her term as vice-president. Carolyn remembers the satisfaction of working with talented and dedicated people, and learning many new skills. She also remembers one of the "lowlights" of her time with CPF:

> I remember being pelted with 'Cheerios' by 2½-year-old Sam while giving a one-too-many telephone interview for CBC that lasted just too long!

If CPF were to have a "Hall of Fame," two individuals would be unanimous selections: Margaret Terry and Jos Scott. Judy Gibson refers to Margaret in this way:

> She's been our conscience almost from the first, quietly but efficiently and effectively keeping us in the black, year after year, and contributing her experience to all our other endeavors at the same time.

Margaret Terry has provided continuity and dedication to CPF for over eight years and she has contributed immeasurably to the professionalism and integrity of the association.

Jos Scott has been national co-ordinator, CPF's only full-time professional staff person, since May 1979. But she began her involvement as president of the local chapter in Regina, served a term as alternate director for Saskatchewan, and has always maintained her respect for the role and value of volunteers. Since she has been based in Ottawa, she has had the most extensive contacts with federal government officials, and the association's credibility with federal agencies is largely attributable to her effective abilities. As Bob Williston succinctly expressed it, "She knew the ropes on Parliament Hill." Jos has also been indefatigable in the volume of work she has produced, the briefs written, the minutes and preparatory materials for directors' meetings, the steady stream of correspondence to CPF members all over Canada. She's been the anchor, and often the helmswoman too, for CPF's ship of state, and it is hard to imagine a Canadian Parents for French without Jos Scott.

Of course there are many other individuals who deserve to be mentioned, but perhaps Judy Gibson's comment covers everyone I haven't specifically talked about:

> I have met hundreds of individuals who have given so many hours of their time to phone, bake, set up chairs, staple and do all those mundane chores which make an organization tick. They are the heart of CPF.[4]

This section would also be incomplete without mentioning the many public servants in the Department of the Secretary of State, who have been supportive of CPF. CPF simply could not have accomplished what it has without the generous technical and financial support of the Secretary of State over the years.

Finally, Max Yalden. During his seven years as Commissioner of Official Languages, he constantly encouraged CPF. He came to every national conference, directed his staff to help us, provided us with publications, and challenged us to be aware of the larger linguistic questions of Canada. In his quiet, but determined way, he gave CPF an example of how to change things, and our association owes him a considerable debt of gratitude.

And the Future?

I am no seer, but it seems likely that the following issues will be of concern to CPF over the next few years:

1. *Further expansion of elementary immersion.* While over 900 school boards offer early immersion, many hundreds more do not. The Gallup poll shows that there is public support for more French immersion, and clearly a major part of the CPF mission will be to do the necessary grass roots organizing to convince more boards of the need to make this form of education more widely available. Some provincial governments need to take a more active role in informing local school boards about the pedagogical and cultural advantages of immersion education. They also need to be more forthcoming about the federal financial assistance that often can overcome the last bit of local resistance to starting an immersion program.

2. *Continuing immersion at the secondary level.* Often, boards which offer elementary immersion are reluctant to extend this form of education through the secondary school level. Even where secondary programs exist, the choice of subjects is frequently limited and the supply of text books and other resource material is seldom what it should be. I've met many parents who are frustrated by the problems at the secondary level and am convinced that CPF will need to take a leading role in urging educators to address these problems. Sometimes, one senses a feeling of relief among CPF groups once early immersion has been firmly established. Yet if it all ends at grade 7 or 8, the benefits of immersion will be seriously jeopardized.

3. *Persuasion of the universities and colleges.* With more and more students graduating from secondary immersion, the universities and colleges will experience pressure from these functionally bilingual young Canadians for courses taught in French, not simply language courses in the French Department. In recent years, CPF has sponsored five conferences in different regions of the country on the issue of French at the post-secondary level, and there has clearly been a heightened awareness among post-secondary institutions. Yet, with many other competing claims for scarce resources, the colleges and universities will need to be reminded in a constructive and practical way of the importance of responding more creatively to this new generation of bilingual Canadians.

4. *Renewal of Core French.* People often think of CPF as an immersion-only organization, and it is true that the vast majority of members are parents with children in immersion classes. Yet one of the resolutions approved by the first national conference dealt with the need to improve core French. More recently, CPF completed a national inventory of core French programs, and published two reports on the subject. Unfortunately, in some parts of the country, the introduction of immersion has resulted in the reduction or elimination of French as a subject. It is important that core French not be viewed as the "poor cousin" of immersion. Experts like Dr. David Stern have pointed out that, with the necessary improvements, core French could be an attractive option for many students. CPF needs to support such improvements which could have a positive impact on the large numbers of children who may not have the chance to participate in French immersion.

5. *Closer links with the Francophone minorities.* In recent years, CPF has intensified its efforts to develop co-operation with the Francophone minorities. In 1984, CPF and the FFHQ (La Fédération des Francophones hors Québec) issued a joint statement supporting their mutual objectives. But the linkages have gone far beyond such formal statements. In some provinces, such as Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia, the provincial CPF branches have publicly allied themselves with the concerns of their counterpart Francophone associations. In many provinces and local communities, CPF groups and Francophone societies have joined together to stage

cultural events, share facilities, operate summer camps, and generally promote French language services. It is absolutely vital that these joint efforts continue in the future. As a former national president, Carolle Anderson, quite simply put it, the CPF role is:

> . . . making this country a better place for French and English children to learn and work together.

6. *Making CPF's message more visible.* While CPF enjoys an excellent reputation among certain governmental agencies and educational organizations, it is not that well known among the general public and media. Efforts have been made in recent years to make the CPF message more visible and these will need to be strengthened if the momentum of the first eight years is to be maintained. Of course, the best ambassadors for the cause are the children who are learning French. When they convey their optimism and confidence to others, as frequently happens at CPF conferences, it is hard for anyone to resist the message! CPF will need shamelessly to put the children front and centre in its public relations initiatives. During a recent publicity campaign showing children participating in a CPF-sponsored oratory festival, the message was: "These children are comfortable in both official languages because their parents made informed choices at the right time." The Gallup poll of 1984 showed that if CPF uses the modern tools of public opinion research, valuable publicity can be obtained. There will be an even greater need for this kind of communication program in the next few years.

Conclusion

In a few short years, CPF has made remarkable progress. Its membership has grown substantially. It has a solid organizational base on three levels. It has a cadre of experienced veterans as well as an apparently inexhaustible supply of fresh, dynamic volunteer leaders. It is respected by politicians, bureaucrats, trustees and teacher groups. The media are gradually beginning to be aware of the initials.

Its success is mostly a testament to a determined group of mothers (with an occasional dad thrown in) who had a very simple objective: to give their children the gift of a second language. CPF's saga is their saga, and that is why I am convinced the movement is just beginning, because it is based, in the end, on the fundamental instinct of parents to do the best they can for their children. In turn, our children will seek even better linguistic and cultural gifts for their offspring, and as each succeeding generation emerges increasingly bilingual and tolerant, it may be possible for all CPF members and friends to look back with pride and satisfaction on the changes that began during CPF's first eight years.

Notes

1. The objectives approved at the March, 1977 meeting remain unchanged eight years later:
   (a) to promote the best possible types of French language learning opportunities;
   (b) to assist in ensuring that each Canadian child have the opportunity to acquire as great a knowledge of French language and culture as he or she is willing and able to attain;
   (c) to establish and maintain effective communication between interested parents and education and governmental authorities concerned with the provision of French language learning opportunities.

2. Other publications of CPF include:
   "How To be an Immersion Parent"
   "Summer Programs in French"
   "What is French Immersion?"
   "What is Core French?"
   "CPF and the Teacher"
   "Research Findings from Across Canada — A Parent's Guide," by Jim Cummins

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"Are Parents' Expectations of French Immersion Realistic?" by W. Russ McGillivray
French Immersion: The Trial Balloon That Flew, by Sharon Lapkin and Merrill Swain

3. Ottawa, 1977; Calgary, 1978; Montreal, 1979; Winnipeg, 1980; Vancouver, 1981; Charlottetown, 1982; Regina, 1983; Saint John, 1984; Whitehorse, 1985. The 10th national conference is to be held in Ottawa in October, 1986, in conjunction with the 10th anniversary conference of the Canadian Association of Immersion Teachers.

4. During my two years as national president, I was particularly appreciative of the work of all the provincial directors who gave unstintingly of their time and talents, and of the strong support given me by my two vice-presidents, Carolyn Hodych and Susan Purdy.

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